

# BIBLIOBASE<sup>®</sup>

A Service of Houghton Mifflin Company



Primary Source Documents for  
**HISTORY**





**U.S. History Editor**

**Michael Bellesiles**

Emory University

**Western Civilization Editors**

**Charles Crouch**

Georgia Southern University

**Mark Angelos**

Manchester College

Professor Sace Elder

Indiana University at South Bend

Europe from Napoleon to the Present

Fall 2002

# B I B L I O B A S E

Custom Coursepack  
for History



**Houghton Mifflin Company**

Boston New York

Editor-in-Chief: Jean Woy  
Sponsoring Editor: Jeffrey Greene  
Director of Technology Development: Victoria Keirnan  
Director of Internet Development: Joanne Markow  
Senior Production/Design Coordinator: Jill Haber  
Senior Marketing Manager: Sandra McGuire

**Copyright © 2002 by Houghton Mifflin Company**

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by any information storage or retrieval system without the prior written permission of Houghton Mifflin Company unless such copying is expressly permitted by federal copyright law. Address inquiries to College Permissions, Houghton Mifflin Company, 222 Berkeley Street, Boston, MA 02116-3764.

Printed in the U.S.A.

0-618-17010-3

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9—B—05 04 03 02



# Introduction

Welcome to *BiblioBase*®, Houghton Mifflin's online custom book-building system. This custom-designed reader has been created specifically for your course based on an extensive database of primary source documents. Each U.S. History document has been chosen and edited by Michael Bellesiles of Emory University. The Western Civilization documents have been selected by Charles Crouch of Georgia Southern University and Mark Angelos of Manchester College. These professors have carefully edited each document to capture its main points and they have provided brief introductions as well as questions to consider for students to think about as they read the documents. Explanatory footnotes are included in some cases to clarify unfamiliar terms and concepts.

The size of the *BiblioBase* database—hundreds of documents with more being added each year—creates tremendous flexibility in choosing the best documents to complement any course or textbook. We encourage

instructors with on-line capability to browse and order from the *BiblioBase* database on the World Wide Web. The database can be searched using five categories as well as by date or alphabetically to narrow down selections. Once documents have been selected, on-line ordering makes the process of creating a customized reader extremely easy. In addition, instructors can order their custom reader from Houghton Mifflin's *BiblioBase* catalogue. Houghton Mifflin will continue to print and periodically update a catalogue that lists all the documents in the database and includes ordering information.

To search and place your order through *BiblioBase*, visit [www.bibliobase.com](http://www.bibliobase.com). For more information about Houghton Mifflin products, please visit the College Division at [www.hmco.com/college/](http://www.hmco.com/college/). To request a printed catalogue, contact your local Houghton Mifflin sales representative, call us at 1-800-813-5091, or send us an e-mail at [BiblioBase@hmco.com](mailto:BiblioBase@hmco.com).





# Contents

Introduction	iii
<b>1 <i>The Napoleonic Code Regulates Gender</i> (1804)</b> NAPOLEON I	1
<b>2 <i>Prussia Abolishes Serfdom: The Reform Edict of 1807</i> (1807)</b> FREDERICK WILLIAM III	2
<b>3 <i>Napoleon I "Enlightens" Spain</i> (1808)</b> NAPOLEON I	3
<b>4 <i>A German Philosopher Asserts Chauvinistic Nationalism</i> (ca. 1810)</b> JOHANN FICHTE	4
<b>5 <i>Young Italy: A Dream of Republican and National Unity</i> (1832)</b> GIUSEPPE MAZZINI	6
<b>6 <i>A Warning About the Dangers of German Nationalism</i> (ca. 1830)</b> HEINRICH HEINE	8
<b>7 <i>Frankenstein Meets His Monster</i> (1818)</b> MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT SHELLEY	9
<b>8 <i>The Case for Classical Liberalism</i> (1820)</b> JAMES MILL	11
<b>9 <i>A Factory Owner with a Social Conscience</i> (1815)</b> ROBERT OWEN	12
<b>10 <i>The "Iron Law of Wages" Is Forged</i> (1817)</b> DAVID RICARDO	14
<b>11 <i>A Utopian Vision: The Doctrine of Saint-Simon</i> (1829)</b> PROSPER LENFANTIN	15

<b>12</b>	<b><i>"What Is Property?": A Socialist's Answer (1840)</i></b>	<b>17</b>
	PIERRE JOSEPH PROUDHON	
<b>13</b>	<b><i>Life Among the Laboring Poor: A Cotton Spinner's Wife Tells Her Tale (1833)</i></b>	<b>18</b>
	PARLIAMENT	
<b>14</b>	<b><i>The Cult of Domesticity: A System of Middle-Class Values and Social Duties (1838)</i></b>	<b>20</b>
	SARAH STICKNEY ELLIS	
<b>15</b>	<b><i>The Regulation of Prostitution in Vienna (1852)</i></b>	<b>22</b>
	VIENNESE POLICE CODE	
<b>16</b>	<b><i>Survival of the Fittest Applied to Human Kind (1851)</i></b>	<b>23</b>
	HERBERT SPENCER	
<b>17</b>	<b><i>The Theory of Natural Selection and the Evolution of Species (1859)</i></b>	<b>25</b>
	CHARLES DARWIN	
<b>18</b>	<b><i>A Clergyman's Response to Darwin (1860)</i></b>	<b>27</b>
	BISHOP SAMUEL WILBERFORCE	
<b>19</b>	<b><i>The Liberal Dilemma: Extension of the Franchise—A Yes Vote (1866)</i></b>	<b>28</b>
	JOHN BRIGHT	
<b>20</b>	<b><i>The Liberal Dilemma: Extension of the Franchise—A No Vote (1867)</i></b>	<b>30</b>
	ROBERT LOWE	
<b>21</b>	<b><i>An Eyewitness Account of the Paris Commune (1871)</i></b>	<b>31</b>
	LOUISE MICHEL	
<b>22</b>	<b><i>The Gotha Program: Social Reformism over Social Revolution (1875)</i></b>	<b>34</b>
	GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY	
<b>23</b>	<b><i>The Modern Welfare State Is Born (1883)</i></b>	<b>35</b>
	OTTO VON BISMARCK	
<b>24</b>	<b><i>An Academic Nationalist Lectures the Next Generation of Germany's Leaders (ca. 1880s)</i></b>	<b>36</b>
	HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE	



- 25 *A Russian Zionist Makes the Case for a Jewish Homeland* (1882) 38  
LEO PINSKER
- 26 *Modern Anti-Semitism Defined* (1878) 40  
RICHARD WAGNER
- 27 *The Mayor of Vienna Connects Christianity to Anti-Semitism* (1887) 41  
KARL LUEGER
- 28 *Women's Suffrage: An Englishwoman Says "No"* (1889) 43  
MRS. HUMPHREY WARD
- 29 *The Suffrage Movement Radicalized* (ca. 1906–7) 44  
EMMELINE PANKHURST
- 30 *A Socialist Solution to the Question of Women's Rights* (1887) 45  
CLARA ZETKIN
- 31 *The Narodnik Executive Committee Reveals the Rationale for Assassination* (1881) 47  
THE NARODNIK EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
- 32 *What Is to Be Done with Russia?* (1903) 49  
VLADIMIR I. LENIN
- 33 *European Imperialism in Africa: A Veteran Explains the Rules of the Game* (1909) 51  
SIR HENRY STANLEY
- 34 *An Indian Nationalist Condemns the British Empire* (1920) 53  
SAROJINI NAIDU
- 35 *Population Growth in Western and Central Europe* (1871–1911) 54  
VARIOUS GOVERNMENTS
- 36 *A French Response to the Demographic Crisis: Bonuses for Babies* (1913) 55  
FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

<b>37</b>	<b><i>The World of the Trenches: A Deadly Life (1915)</i></b>	<b>56</b>
	ALFONS ANKENBRAND	
<b>38</b>	<b><i>A British Feminist Analyzes the Impact of the War on Women (1916)</i></b>	<b>58</b>
	HELENA SWANWICK	
<b>39</b>	<b><i>The Bolshevik Seizure of Power at the Local Level (1917)</i></b>	<b>61</b>
	ALEXIS BABINE	
<b>40</b>	<b><i>Collectivization in the Soviet Union: A Peasant's Report (1930)</i></b>	<b>63</b>
	IVAN TROFIMOVICH CHUYUNKOV	
<b>41</b>	<b><i>One Woman's Struggle Against Stalinist Terror (1936)</i></b>	<b>65</b>
	ZINAIDA CHERKOVSKAYA	
<b>42</b>	<b><i>An American Worker Behind the Urals at the Magnitogorsk Blast Furnaces (1932–1935)</i></b>	<b>68</b>
	JOHN SCOTT	
<b>43</b>	<b><i>The Art of Propaganda: A Master Reveals His Secrets (1924)</i></b>	<b>71</b>
	ADOLF HITLER	
<b>44</b>	<b><i>The "Fundamental Ideas" of Fascism (1935)</i></b>	<b>72</b>
	BENITO MUSSOLINI	
<b>45</b>	<b><i>Nazi Recreation: Summer Camps for Girls (ca. 1930s)</i></b>	<b>74</b>
	REICH YOUTH HEADQUARTERS	
<b>46</b>	<b><i>Sterilization for "The Unfit": The Hitlerian Nightmare Begins (1933)</i></b>	<b>76</b>
	NAZI GERMAN GOVERNMENT	
<b>47</b>	<b><i>German Workers Accept the Nazi Regime (1934)</i></b>	<b>78</b>
	GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY	
<b>48</b>	<b><i>The Centerpiece of Nazi Racial Legislation: The Nuremberg Laws (1935)</i></b>	<b>80</b>
	NAZI GERMAN GOVERNMENT	
<b>49</b>	<b><i>The Ghettoization of the Jews: Prelude to the Final Solution (1941)</i></b>	<b>82</b>
	TRAIAN POPOVICI	



<b>50</b>	<b><i>There Are No Civilians Anymore: The London Air Raids (1944)</i></b>	<b>84</b>
	MRS. ROBERT HENREY	
<b>51</b>	<b><i>Existentialism Defined (1946)</i></b>	<b>85</b>
	JEAN PAUL SARTRE	
<b>52</b>	<b><i>The Second Sex: Existential Feminism (1949)</i></b>	<b>87</b>
	SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR	
<b>53</b>	<b><i>An American Plan to Rebuild a Shattered Europe (1947)</i></b>	<b>89</b>
	GEORGE C. MARSHALL	
<b>54</b>	<b><i>Third World Advocate Decries Colonized Peoples' Loss of Identity (1952)</i></b>	<b>91</b>
	FRANTZ FANON	
<b>55</b>	<b><i>The "Secret Speech" Launches De-Stalinization (1956)</i></b>	<b>92</b>
	NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV	
<b>56</b>	<b><i>A British Journalist Witnesses the Hungarian Revolution (1956)</i></b>	<b>95</b>
	ANTHONY RHODES	
<b>57</b>	<b><i>Jean-Paul Sartre Interviews Daniel Cohn-Bendit (1968)</i></b>	<b>98</b>
	DANIEL COHN-BENDIT AND JEAN-PAUL SARTRE	
<b>58</b>	<b><i>The Helsinki Final Act: Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms Enunciated (1975)</i></b>	<b>100</b>
	HELSINKI CONFERENCE ON EUROPEAN SECURITY	
<b>59</b>	<b><i>The Troubles in Ireland: An IRA Leader Reveals Its Ultimate Aims (1979)</i></b>	<b>101</b>
	GERRY ADAMS	
<b>60</b>	<b><i>The Wall Came Tumbling Down: An East German Activist Describes Her Role (1989)</i></b>	<b>103</b>
	CORNELIA MATZKE	
<b>61</b>	<b><i>A Presidential Address to the People of Czechoslovakia on New Year's Day (1991)</i></b>	<b>106</b>
	VÁCLAV HAVEL	





# The Napoleonic Code Regulates Gender (1804)

N A P O L E O N I

Perhaps his most enduring legacy, Napoleon I's (r. 1799–1814/1815) *Code civile* was in many ways an impressive accomplishment; it codified the maze of French civil law, institutionalized the revolutionary changes in both laws and procedures, protected the gains of the peasantry and bourgeoisie, and laid the foundation for the future evolution of French business and civil law. The Code was exported, in the baggage of Napoleon's armies, to the rest of Europe and to French colonies around the world. It thus has had a profound impact. One of its most significant aspects, the regulation of women and the family, reproduced the anti-feminist stance of the revolutionaries who had forced women out of the public sphere in 1792 and 1793. Indeed, the *Code civile* institutionalized the second-class status of women.

## Questions to Consider

- Compare the respective duties of husband and wife. Are they equal? Which has the greater responsibility to the other?
- What were the grounds for divorce? What were the possible consequences?
- How did the Code institutionalize the second-class status of women?

## Of the Rights and Respective Duties of Husband and Wife

212. Husband and wife mutually owe to each other fidelity, succor, and assistance.

213. The husband owes protection to his wife, the wife obedience to her husband.

214. The wife is obliged to live with her husband, and to follow him wherever he may think proper to dwell; the husband is bound to receive her, and to furnish her with everything necessary for the purposes of life, according to his means and condition.

215. The wife can do no act in law without the authority of her husband....

## Of Causes of Divorce

229. The husband may demand divorce for cause of adultery on the part of his wife.

230. The wife may demand divorce for cause of adultery on the part of her husband, where he shall have kept his concubine in their common house.

## Of the Effects of Divorce

298. In the case of divorce allowed at law for cause of adultery, the guilty party can never marry his or her accomplice. The adulterous wife shall be condemned by the same judgment, and upon the requisition of the public ministry, to confinement in a house of correction for a certain period, which shall not be less than three months, nor exceed two years.

---

Source: Napoleon Bonaparte, *Of the Rights and Respective Duties of Husband and Wife*, in Geoffrey Bruun, ed., *Napoleon and His Empire* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1972), 123–124.

## 2

# *Prussia Abolishes Serfdom: The Reform Edict of 1807 (1807)*

F R E D E R I C K W I L L I A M I I I

In the aftermath of their devastating defeat by the French at the Battle of Jena in October 1807, the Prussians were forced to reassess their position in the changing Europe. Faced with severe economic problems, King Frederick William III (r. 1797–1840) instituted a vigorous reform program; one of its key features was the abolition of serfdom. This act, which Frederick the Great (r. 1740–1786) had rejected, was a bold attempt to rebuild the Prussian economy, based upon the concept of economic liberty, a rather alien notion in the absolutist Prussian state.

## Questions to Consider

- What were the basic provisions of the Reform Edict of 1807? Did all classes benefit equally?
- How did the Reform Edict address the problem of existing land-holding rights and duties of Prussian peasants?

**W**e, Frederick William, by the grace of God king of Prussia, etc., etc., hereby make known and proclaim that: Since peace has been established we have been occupied before everything else with the care for the depressed condition of our faithful subjects and the speediest revival and greatest possible improvement in this respect. We have considered that, in face of the prevailing want, the means at our disposal would be insufficient to aid each individual, and even if they were sufficient, we could not hope to accomplish our object; and that, moreover, in accordance with the imperative demands of justice and with the principles of a judicious economic policy, it behooves us to remove

every obstacle which has hitherto prevented the individual from attaining such a state of prosperity as he was capable of reaching. We have further considered that the existing restrictions, both on the possession and enjoyment of landed property and on the personal condition of the agricultural laborer, especially interfere with our benevolent purpose and disable a great force which might be applied to the restoration of agriculture,—the former, by their prejudicial influence upon the value of landed property and the credit of the proprietor; the latter, by diminishing the value of labor. We desire, therefore, to reduce both kinds of restrictions so far as the common well-being demands, and we accordingly ordain the following.

1. Every inhabitant of our states is competent, without any limitation on the part of the state, to own or mortgage landed property of every kind. The noble may therefore own not only noble, but also non-noble, citizen and peasant lands of every kind, and the citizen

---

Source: Edict of Frederick William III (1807), in James Harvey Robinson, ed., *Readings in European History* (Boston: Ginn, 1904), 2:520–521.



and peasant may possess not only citizen, peasant, and other non-noble, but also noble tracts of land without in any case needing special permission for any acquisition whatever, although henceforth, as before, every change of ownership must be announced to the authorities. All privileges which are possessed by noble over citizen inheritances are entirely abolished....

2. Every noble is henceforth permitted, without any derogation from his station, to engage in citizen occupation, and every citizen or peasant is allowed to pass from the citizen into the peasant class or from the peasant into the citizen class....

10. From the date of this ordinance no new relation of serfdom, whether by birth or marriage, or by assuming the position of a serf, or by contract, can be created.

11. With the publication of the present ordinance the existing relations of serfdom of those serfs, with their

wives and children, who possess their peasant holdings by inheritance, or in their own right, or by perpetual leases, or of copyhold, shall cease entirely, together with all mutual rights and duties.

12. From Martinmas, one thousand eight hundred and ten (1810), all serfdom shall cease throughout our whole realm. From Martinmas, 1810, there shall be only free persons, as is already the case upon the royal domains in all our provinces,—free persons, however, still subject, as a matter of course, to all obligations which bind them, as free persons, by reason of the possession of an estate or by virtue of a special contract.

To this declaration of our supreme will every one whom it may concern, and in particular our provincial authorities and other officials, are exactly and dutifully to conform, and the present ordinance is to be universally made known.

### 3

## *Napoleon I “Enlightens” Spain (1808)*

N A P O L E O N I

Napoleon I (r. 1799–1814/1815) saw himself as the enlightened liberator of oppressed peoples living under feudal regimes. Typically, the French emperor, upon “liberating” a state, would abolish feudalism and introduce “modern” reforms based on those of the French revolutionary experience. In many ways, this is the genesis of the Napoleonic myth (created by the emperor while in exile on St. Helena) that Napoleon I created Italian, German, Spanish, etc., nationalism; by giving these peoples modern institutions, they were able to create the modern feelings of nationalism. Actually, the myth was only partially correct; Napoleon did indeed create Italian, German, Spanish, etc., nationalism, but it arose in opposition to the French occupation, which typically included high taxes, military conscription, and other painful indignities. In another way, Napoleon did help create modern Europe, as his abolition of feudalism and introduction of reforms would have an enduring legacy in Europe. In 1808, Napoleon imposed such reforms on Spain, but instead of Spanish loyalty and gratitude, all Napoleon got for his troubles was a costly guerrilla war, which was supported extensively by the British. Napoleon referred to Spain as a “festering hole” into which he poured men and money, to no avail. The Spanish resistance to the French certainly had a nationalistic aspect.

### Questions to Consider

- What reforms did Napoleon I introduce? Why might these be considered modern?
- Which reforms would the Spanish reject and why?

To date from the publication of the present decree, feudal rights are abolished in Spain.

All personal obligations, all exclusive fishing rights and other rights of similar nature on the coast or on rivers and streams, all feudal monopolies (*banalités*) of ovens, mills, and inns are suppressed. It shall be free to every one who shall conform to the laws to develop his industry without restraint.

The tribunal of the Inquisition is abolished, as inconsistent with the civil sovereignty and authority.

The property of the Inquisition shall be sequestered and fall to the Spanish state, to serve as security for the bonded debt.

Considering that the members of the various monastic orders have increased to an undue degree and that, although a certain number of them are useful in assisting the ministers of the altar in the administration of the

sacraments, the existence of too great a number interferes with the prosperity of the state, we have decreed and do decree as follows:

The number of convents now in existence in Spain shall be reduced to a third of their present number. This reduction shall be accomplished by uniting the members of several convents of the same order into one.

From the publication of the present decree, no one shall be admitted to the novitiate or permitted to take the monastic vow until the number of the religious of both sexes has been reduced to one third of that now in existence....

All regular ecclesiastics who desire to renounce the monastic life and live as secular ecclesiastics are at liberty to leave their monasteries....

In view of the fact that the institution which stands most in the way of the internal prosperity of Spain is that of the customs lines separating the provinces, we have decreed and do decree what follows:

To date from January 1 next, the barriers existing between the provinces shall be suppressed. The custom houses shall be removed to the frontiers and there established.

Source: Decrees Affecting Spain, in James Harvey Robinson, ed., *Readings in European History* (Boston: Ginn, 1904), 2:512–513.

## 4

# A German Philosopher Asserts Chauvinistic Nationalism (ca. 1810)

J O H A N N F I C H T E

In this selection, the German philosopher Johann Fichte (1762–1814) expounds on one of the primary elements of nationalism: language. Fichte goes beyond merely asserting that the German language provides the glue that binds together the German people; he claims that only by using proper German words for the



concepts of "popularity" and "liberality" can a German truly understand them. Fichte goes even further, arguing that only in German can ambiguity in meaning be avoided; thus, according to Fichte, those people using Romance languages, based on Latin, are "entirely without a mother tongue" and therefore, one can infer, without a claim to being a nation.

### Questions to Consider

- What killed the Latin language, according to Fichte? Did this have any implications for nineteenth-century nationalism?
- What is the basis of Fichte's rejection of using Westernized terms and his approval of German ones?
- What are the implications for relations between people of different languages?

Further, if I should use in speaking to the German, instead of the words Popularity (*Popularität*) and Liberality (*Liberalität*), the expressions 'striving for favour among the great mob' and 'not having the mind of a slave,' which is how those words must be literally translated, he would at first not obtain the clear and lively sensual image such as the Roman of old days certainly obtained. The latter saw every day with his own eyes the flexible politeness of an ambitious candidate to all and sundry, and saw outbursts of the slave-mind also; and those words represented these things to him in a living fashion. The change in the form of government and the introduction of Christianity took away even from the Roman of later days these sights and shows; and then, too, his own language was beginning to die away to a great extent in his own mouth, this being more especially due to Christianity, which was alien to him and which he could neither ward off nor incorporate with himself. How could this language, already half dead in its own home, have been transmitted alive to a foreign people? And how should it now be capable of transmission to us Germans? Further, with regard to the sensual image of a mental thing that lies in both those expressions, there is in Popularity even at

the very beginning something base, which became perverted to a virtue in the mouth of the nation, owing to their corruption and their constitution. The German never falls into this perversion so long as it is presented to him in his own language. But when Liberality is translated by saying that a man has not 'the soul of a slave,' or, to bring it into accordance with modern custom, 'a lackey's way of thinking,' he answers once more that when this is said it means very little too.

...Now supposing that what those...foreign words must really be intended to mean, if they mean anything at all, had been expressed to the German in his own words and in his own circle of sensual images as follows:...*Leutseligkeit* (condescension or affability), and *Edelmut* (noble-mindedness), he would have understood us; but the base associations we have named could never have been slipped into those designations. In the range of German speech a wrapping-up in incomprehensibility and darkness of the kind mentioned arises either from clumsiness or evil design; it can be avoided, and the means always ready to hand is to translate into right and true German. But in the Romance languages this incomprehensibility is natural and primitive and there is no means of avoiding it, for [those using] these languages are not in possession of any living language at all by which they might examine the dead one, and if one looks at the matter closely, are entirely without a mother tongue.

---

Source: Johann Fichte, in J. G. Legge, *Rhyme and Revolution in Germany* (London: Constable, 1918), 78–79.

## 5

# Young Italy: A Dream of Republican and National Unity (1832)

G I U S E P P E M A Z Z I N I

In this excerpt from his "Instructions to Members of Young Italy," Giuseppe Mazzini (1805–1872) provides a blueprint for not only the revolutionary liberation of Italy but also the new Italian republic, which was his ultimate dream. One of the foremost proponents of what some term "Romantic nationalism," Mazzini believed that nationalism was not only the movement for national unity, but also a democratic movement. According to Mazzini, only "a free and equal community of brothers" could satisfy the heroic destiny of Italy, and every other nation as well. Mazzini's nationalism lacked the chauvinism often found among other nationalists, such as the German philosopher Johann Fichte (1762–1814), supporting instead the efforts of other national movements. Mazzini's movement reached its height during the Revolutions of 1848, briefly establishing republics on the peninsula, only to be crushed by Austrian military intervention.

## Questions to Consider

- What were the means by which Young Italy hoped to achieve its goals? Why?
- Where would sovereignty reside in Mazzini's republic? What did this mean for the unification movement?

LIBERTY—EQUALITY—HUMANITY—  
INDEPENDENCE—UNITY

Young Italy is a brotherhood of Italians who believe in a law of *progress* and *duty*, and are convinced that Italy is destined to become one nation, convinced also that she possesses sufficient strength within herself to become one, and that the ill success of her former efforts is to be attributed not to the weakness, but to the misdirection of the revolutionary elements within her,—that the se-

cret force lies in constancy and unity of effort. They join this association with the firm intention of consecrating both thought and action to the great aim of reconstituting Italy as one independent sovereign nation of free men and equals....

The aim of the association is *revolution*; but its labors will be essentially educational, both before and after the day of revolution; and it therefore declares the principles upon which the national education should be conducted, and from which alone Italy may hope for safety and regeneration....

Young Italy is *republican* and *unitarian*<sup>1</sup>—republican, because theoretically every nation is destined, by the law of God and humanity, to form a free and equal com-

Source: Giuseppe Mazzini's "Instructions to Members of Young Italy," in James Harvey Robinson and Charles Beard, eds., *Readings in Modern European History* (Boston: Ginn, 1909), 2:115–118.

<sup>1</sup> That is, Italy must not become a mere federation.



munity of brothers; and the republican government is the only form of government that ensures this future: Because all true sovereignty resides essentially in the nation, the sole progressive and continuous interpreter of the supreme moral law;...because the monarchical element being incapable of sustaining itself alone by the side of the popular element, it necessarily involves the existence of the intermediate element of an aristocracy,—the source of inequality and corruption to the whole nation; because both history and the nature of things teach us that elective monarchy tends to generate anarchy, and hereditary monarchy tends to generate despotism; because, when monarchy is not—as in the Middle Ages—based upon the belief, now extinct, in right divine, it becomes too weak to be a bond of unity and authority in the State; because the inevitable tendency of the series of progressive transformations taking place in Europe is toward the enthronement of the republican principle, and because the inauguration of the monarchical principle in Italy would carry along with it the necessity of a new revolution shortly after.

Our Italian tradition is essentially republican; our great memories are republican; the whole history of our national progress is republican; whereas the introduction of monarchy amongst us was coeval [coincided] with our decay, and consummated our ruin by its constant servility to the foreigner and antagonism to the people as well as to the unity of the nation.

While the populations of the various Italian states would cheerfully unite in the name of a principle which could give no umbrage to local ambition, they would not willingly submit to be governed by one man,—the offspring of one of those States; and their several pretensions would necessarily tend to federalism.

If monarchy were once set up as the aim of the Italian insurrection, it would, by a logical necessity, draw along with it all the obligations of the monarchical system, concessions to foreign courts, trust in and respect for diplomacy, and the repression of that popular element, by which alone our salvation can be achieved. By intrusting the supreme authority to monarchists whose interest it would be to betray us, we should infallibly bring the insurrection to naught....

Young Italy is unitarian, because, without unity there is no true nation; because, without unity there is no real strength; and Italy, surrounded as she is by powerful, united, and jealous nations, has need of strength above

all things; because federalism, by reducing her to the political impotence of Switzerland, would necessarily place her under the influence of one of the neighboring nations; because federalism, by reviving the local rivalries now extinct, would throw Italy back upon the Middle Ages;...because federalism, by destroying the unity of the great Italian family, would strike at the root of the great mission Italy is destined to accomplish for humanity; because Europe is undergoing a progressive series of transformations, which are gradually and irresistibly guiding European society to form itself into vast and united masses; because the entire work of internal civilization in Italy will be seen, if rightly studied, to have been tending for ages toward unity.

The means by which Young Italy proposes to reach its aim are education and insurrection, to be adopted simultaneously and made to harmonize with each other. Education must ever be directed to teach, by example, word, and pen, the necessity of insurrection. Insurrection, whenever it can be realized, must be so conducted as to render it a means of national education. Education, though of necessity secret in Italy, will be public outside of Italy....

Insurrection, by means of guerrilla bands, is the true method of warfare for all nations desirous of emancipating themselves from a foreign yoke. This method of warfare supplies the want—inevitable at the commencement of the insurrection—of a regular army; it calls the greatest number of elements into the field, and yet may be sustained by the smallest number. It forms the military education of the people and consecrates every foot of the native soil by the memory of some warlike deed. Guerrilla warfare opens a field of activity for every local capacity, forces the enemy into an unaccustomed method of battle, avoids the evil consequences of a great defeat, secures the national war from the risk of treason, and has the advantage of not confining it within any defined and determinate basis of operations. It is invincible, indestructible. The regular army, recruited with all possible solicitude and organized with all possible care, will complete the work begun by the war of insurrection.

All the members of Young Italy will exert themselves to diffuse these principles of insurrection. The association will develop them more fully in its writings, and will explain from time to time the ideas and organization which should govern the period of insurrection.

## 6

# A Warning About the Dangers of German Nationalism (ca. 1830)

H E I N R I C H H E I N E

Heinrich Heine (1797–1856) was a brilliant poet and a liberal who lived in self-imposed exile in Paris for much of his life. A shrewd observer of contemporary events and trends, Heine was alarmed by the chauvinistic nature of German nationalism during the Restoration era (1815–1848). In this excerpt from his *Religion and Philosophy in Germany*, Heine offers a troubling, prescient warning about the ultimate outcome of German nationalism.

## Questions to Consider

- What is it that Heine fears would result from the unbridled growth and enthusiasm of German nationalism?
- To what and to whom does Heine attribute the resurrection of ancient Germanic ferocity?

Christianity has to a certain degree moderated that brutal lust of battle, such as we find it among the ancient Germanic races who fought, not to destroy, nor yet to conquer, but merely from a fierce demoniac love of battle itself; but it could not altogether eradicate it. And when once that restraining talisman, the cross, is broken, then the smouldering ferocity of those ancient warriors will again blaze up; then again will be heard the deadly clang of that frantic Berserker wrath, of which the Norse poets say and sing so much. That talisman is rotten with decay, and the day will surely come when it will crumble and fall. Then the ancient stone gods will arise from out the ashes of dismantled ruins, and rub the dust of a thou-

sand years from their eyes; and finally Thor, with his colossal hammer, will leap up and with it shatter into fragments the Gothic cathedrals.... Smile not at my advice as the counsel of a visionary warning you against Kantians, Fichteans and natural philosophers. Scoff not at the dreamer who expects in the material world a revolution similar to that which has already taken place in the domain of thought. The thought goes before the deed, as the lightning precedes the thunder. True, the German thunder is German, is rather awkward, and comes rolling along rather tardily; but come it surely will, and when ye once hear a crash the like of which in the world's history was never heard before, then know that the German thunderbolt has reached its mark. At this crash the eagles will fall dead in mid-air, and the lions in Africa's most distant deserts will cower and sneak into their most royal dens. A drama will be enacted in Germany in comparison with which the French Revolution will appear a harmless idyl.

Source: Heinrich Heine, *Religion and Philosophy in Germany*, in J. G. Legge, *Rhyme and Revolution in Germany* (London: Constable, 1918), 58–59.



...That hour will come. As on the raised benches of an amphitheatre the nations will group themselves around Germany to behold the great tournament.... Ye

have more to fear from emancipated Germany than from the whole Holy Alliance, with all its Croats and Cossacks.

## 7

## Frankenstein Meets His Monster (1818)

M A R Y W O L L S T O N E C R A F T  
S H E L L E Y

In many ways, Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley (1797–1851) epitomized the Romantic generation. She shared the rebellious, bohemian lifestyle of her husband Percy Bysshe Shelley until his early death in 1822. The daughter of the famous feminist Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797), who had died giving birth to Mary, she struggled to find her own voice in the intellectual and artistic circles in which she lived. *Frankenstein*, perhaps her greatest work, is a Romantic, allegorical tale of genius betrayed by its own lofty goals. Dr. Frankenstein's vainglorious attempt to achieve immortality for humankind results in a series of tragedies, not the least of which is the intense suffering of his creation. In this excerpt from the end of the novel, Dr. Frankenstein meets his monster.

### Questions to Consider

- In what ways does this excerpt reveal Romantic themes?
- Why does Frankenstein hate his creation so passionately?
- Why is the monster so unhappy?

**I**t was nearly noon when I arrived at the top of the ascent. For some time I sat upon the rock that overlooks the sea of ice. A mist covered both that and the surrounding mountains. Presently a breeze dissipated the cloud, and I descended upon the glacier. The sur-

face is very uneven, rising like the waves of a troubled sea, descending low, and interspersed by rifts that sink deep. The field of ice is almost a league in width, but I spent nearly two hours in crossing it. The opposite mountain is a bare perpendicular rock. From the side where I now stood, Montanvert was exactly opposite, at the distance of a league; and above it rose Mount Blanc, in awful majesty. I remained in a recess of the rock, gazing on this wonderful and stupendous scene. The sea, or rather the vast river of ice, wound among its depen-

Source: Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, *Frankenstein*, "I Am the Fallen Angel," in Howard E. Hugo, ed., *The Portable Romantic Reader* (New York: Viking, 1957), 276–280.

dent mountains, whose aerial summits hung over its recesses. Their icy and glittering peaks shone in the sunlight over the clouds. My heart, which was before sorrowful, now swelled with something like joy; I exclaimed—"Wandering spirits, if indeed ye wander, and do not rest in your narrow beds, allow me this faint happiness, or take me, as your companion, away from the joys of life."

As I said this, I suddenly beheld the figure of a man, at some distance, advancing towards me with superhuman speed. He bounded over the crevices in the ice, among which I had walked with caution; his stature, also, as he approached, seemed to exceed that of man. I was troubled: a mist came over my eyes, and I felt a faintness seize me; but I was quickly restored by the cold gale of the mountains. I perceived, as the shape came nearer (sight tremendous and abhorred!) that it was the wretch whom I had created. I trembled with rage and horror, resolving to wait his approach, and then close with him in mortal combat. He approached; his countenance bespoke bitter anguish, combined with disdain and malignity, while its unearthly ugliness rendered it almost too horrible for human eyes. But I scarcely observed this; rage and hatred had at first deprived me of utterance, and I recovered only to overwhelm him with words expressive of furious detestation and contempt.

"Devil," I exclaimed, "do you dare approach me? and do not you fear the fierce vengeance of my arm wreaked on your miserable head? Begone, vile insect! or rather, stay, that I may trample you to dust! and, oh! that I could, with the extinction of your miserable existence, restore those victims whom you have so diabolically murdered!"

"I expected this reception," said the daemon. "All men hate the wretched; how, then, must I be hated, who am miserable beyond all living things! Yet you, my cre-

ator, detest and spurn me, thy creature, to whom thou art bound by ties only dissoluble by the annihilation of one of us. You purpose to kill me. How dare you sport thus with life? Do your duty towards me, and I will do mine towards you and the rest of mankind. If you will comply with my conditions, I will leave them and you at peace; but if you refuse, I will glut the maw of death, until it be satisfied with the blood of your remaining friends."

"Abhorred monster! fiend that thou art! the tortures of hell are too mild a vengeance for thy crimes. Wretched devil! you reproach me with your creation; come on, then, that I may extinguish the spark which I so negligently bestowed."

My rage was without bounds; I sprang on him, impelled by all the feelings which can arm one being against the existence of another.

He easily eluded me, and said—

"Be calm! I entreat you to hear me, before you give vent to your hatred on my devoted head. Have I not suffered enough that you seek to increase my misery? Life, although it may only be an accumulation of anguish, is dear to me, and I will defend it. Remember, thou hast made me more powerful than thyself; my height is superior to thine; my joints more supple. But I will not be tempted to set myself in opposition to thee. I am thy creature, and I will be even mild and docile to my natural lord and king, if thou wilt also perform thy part, the which thou owest me. Oh, Frankenstein, be not equitable to every other, and trample upon me alone, to whom thy justice, and even thy clemency and affection, is most due. Remember, that I am thy creature; I ought to be thy Adam; but I am rather the fallen angel, whom thou drivest from joy for no misdeed. Everywhere I see bliss, from which I alone am irrevocably excluded. I was benevolent and good; misery made me a fiend. Make me happy, and I shall again be virtuous."



## 8

# *The Case for Classical Liberalism (1820)*

J A M E S M I L L

James Mill (1773–1836), the father of the noted English philosopher John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) and a respected English political philosopher in his own right, penned his “Essay on Government,” excerpted here, for the fifth edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, (1816–1833). In his essay, Mill, a Benthamite utilitarian, presented a summation of the political philosophy of liberalism (which was based on the natural law theories of the Enlightenment), including the origins of civil society, the purpose of government, and the necessity to limit government power.

## Questions to Consider

- According to Mill, why do humans form governments?
- How does the original purpose for the formation of government affect the liberal belief in the necessity to limit the power of government?
- How does liberalism embody the concepts of the Enlightenment?

**O**f the laws of nature on which the condition of man depends, that which is attended with the greatest number of consequences is the necessity of labor for obtaining the means of subsistence, as well as the means of the greatest part of our pleasures. This is no doubt the primary cause of government; for if nature had produced spontaneously all the objects which we desire, and in sufficient abundance for the desires of all, there would have been no source of dispute or of injury among men, nor would any man have possessed the means of ever acquiring authority over another.

The results are exceedingly different when nature produces the objects of desire not in sufficient abundance for all. The source of dispute is then exhaustless,

and every man has the means of acquiring authority over others in proportion to the quantity of those objects which he is able to possess. In this case the end to be obtained through government as the means, is to make that distribution of the scanty materials of happiness which would insure the greatest sum of it in the members of the community taken altogether, preventing every individual or combination of individuals from interfering with that distribution or making any man to have less than his share.

When it is considered that most of the objects of desire and even the means of subsistence are the product of labor, it is evident that the means of insuring labor must be provided for as the foundation of all. The means for the insuring of labor are of two sorts: the one made out of the matter of evil, the other made out of the matter of good. The first sort is commonly denominated force, and under its application the laborers are slaves. This mode of procuring labor we need not consider, for if the end of government be to produce the greatest

---

Source: James Mill, “Essay on Government,” in E. A. Burt, ed., *The English Philosophers from Bacon to Mill* (New York: Modern Library, 1939), 858–859.

happiness of the greatest number, that end cannot be attained by making the greatest number slaves.

The other mode of obtaining labor is by allurements, or the advantage which it brings. To obtain all the objects of desire in the greatest possible quantity, we must obtain labor in the greatest possible quantity; and to obtain labor in the greatest possible quantity, we must raise to the greatest possible height the advantage attached to labor. It is impossible to attach to labor a greater degree of advantage than the whole of the product of labor. Why so? Because if you give more to one man than the produce of his labor, you can do so only by taking it away from the produce of some other man's labor. The greatest possible happiness of society is therefore attained by insuring to every man the greatest possible quantity of the produce of his labor.

How is this to be accomplished? For it is obvious that every man who has not all the objects of his desire, has inducement to take them from any other man who is weaker than himself: and how is he to be prevented? One mode is sufficiently obvious, and it does not appear that there is any other: the union of a certain number of men to protect one another. The object, it is plain, can best be attained when a great number of men combine and delegate to a small number the power necessary for protecting them all. This is government.

With respect to the end of government, or that for the sake of which it exists, it is not conceived to be neces-

sary on the present occasion that the analysis should be carried any further. What follows is an attempt to analyze the means.

Two things are here to be considered: the power with which the small number are entrusted, and the use which they are to make of it. With respect to the first there is no difficulty. The elements out of which the power of coercing others is fabricated are obvious to all. Of these we shall therefore not lengthen this article by any explanation. All the difficult questions of government relate to the means of restraining those in whose hands are lodged the powers necessary for the protection of all from making a bad use of it.

Whatever would be the temptations under which individuals would lie if there was no government, to take the objects of desire from others weaker than themselves, under the same temptations the members of the government lie, to take the objects of desire from the members of the community, if they are not prevented from doing so. Whatever, then, are the reasons for establishing government, the very same exactly are the reasons for establishing securities that those entrusted with the powers necessary for protecting others, make use of them for that purpose solely, and not for the purpose of taking from the members of the community the objects of desire.

## 9

# *A Factory Owner with a Social Conscience (1815)*

ROBERT OWEN

Robert Owen (1771–1858) was a successful cotton textiles manufacturer in Scotland during the early years of British industrialization. Like many others, he became alarmed at the living conditions of the workers in the new factories, and took direct action. Owen rebuilt the town of New Lanark, creating a model company town, complete with stores, churches, housing, and schools; later he established a model community at New Harmony, Indiana. He was a tireless witness before many parliamentary commissions on factory legislation and a staunch supporter of the trades union movement. In this excerpt from his



*Observations on the Effect of the Manufacturing System* (1815), Owen describes the impact of the unregulated pursuit of wealth on the working classes.

### Questions to Consider

- What was the effect of the unrestrained "principle of gain" on the working classes?
- What was Owen advocating? Who would be the likely supporters of his ideas? Who would be his likely opponents?

The immediate effects of this manufacturing phenomenon were a rapid increase of the wealth, industry, population, and political influence of the British Empire; and by the aid of which it has been enabled to contend for five-and-twenty years against the most formidable military and *immoral* power [France] that the world perhaps ever contained.

These important results, however, great as they really are, have not been obtained without accompanying evils of such a magnitude as to raise a doubt whether the latter do not preponderate over the former.

Hitherto, legislators have appeared to regard manufactures, only in one point of view, as a source of national wealth.

The other mighty consequences which proceed from extended manufactures *when left to their natural progress*, have never yet engaged the attention of any legislature. Yet the political and moral effects to which we allude, well deserve to occupy the best faculties of the greatest and the wisest statesmen.

The general diffusion of manufactures throughout a country generates a new character in its inhabitants; and as this character is formed upon a principle quite unfavorable to individual or general happiness, it will produce the most lamentable and permanent evils, unless its tendency be counteracted by legislative interference and direction....

The acquisition of wealth, and the desire which it naturally creates for a continued increase, have introduced a fondness for essentially injurious luxuries among a numerous class of individuals who formerly never thought of them, and they have also generated a disposition which strongly impels its possessors to sacrifice the best feelings of human nature to this love of accumulation. To succeed in this career, the industry of the lower orders, from whose labor this wealth is now

drawn, has been carried by new competitors striving against those of longer standing, to a point of real oppression, reducing them by successive changes, as the spirit of competition increased and the ease of acquiring wealth diminished, to a state more wretched than can be imagined by those who have not attentively observed the changes as they have gradually occurred. In consequence, they are at present in a situation infinitely more degraded and miserable than they were before the introduction of these manufactories, upon the success of which their bare subsistence now depends....

The effects of this principle of gain, unrestrained, are still more lamentable on the working classes, those who are employed in the operative parts of the manufactures; for most of these branches are more or less unfavorable to the health and morals of adults. Yet parents do not hesitate to sacrifice the well-being of their children by putting them to occupations by which the constitution of their minds and bodies is rendered greatly inferior to what it might and ought to be under a system of common foresight and humanity....

The children now find they must labor incessantly for their bare subsistence: they have not been used to innocent, healthy, and rational amusements; they are not permitted the requisite time, if they had been previously accustomed to enjoy them. They know not what relaxation means, except by the actual cessation from labor. They are surrounded by others similarly circumstanced with themselves; and thus passing on from childhood to youth, they become gradually initiated, the young men in particular, but often the young females also, in the seductive pleasures of the pot-house and inebriation: for which their daily hard labor, want of better habits, and the general vacuity of their minds, tend to prepare them....

The employer regards the employed as mere instruments of gain, while these acquire a gross ferocity of character, which, if legislative measures shall not be judiciously devised to prevent its increase, and ameliorate the condition of this class, will sooner or later plunge the country into a formidable and perhaps inextricable state of danger.

---

Source: Robert Owen, *Observations on the Effect of the Manufacturing System* (1815), in Walter Arnstein, ed., *The Past Speaks*, 2d ed. (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1993), 2:150–151.

## 10

# The "Iron Law of Wages" Is Forged (1817)

DAVID RICARDO

David Ricardo (1772–1832), along with Thomas Malthus (1766–1834), was probably most responsible for economics being dubbed the "dismal science." Ricardo (and Malthus, whose conceptualization of working-class population growth and poverty fit nicely with Ricardo's theory on wages) attempted to explain—and justify—the poverty gripping the working classes based upon natural law. His explanation, in accordance with the premises of laissez-faire capitalism, was most popular with the business class of Great Britain. According to Ricardo (and Malthus), the workers' poverty was the result of their own unrestrained reproduction; the only way to avoid starvation, poverty, and perhaps famine was for the working classes to limit severely their sexual activity.

## Questions to Consider

- According to Ricardo, on what does the natural price of labor depend? How is the market price determined? What is the difference?
- What is "the iron law of wages"?

**L**ABOUR, like all other things which are purchased and sold, and which may be increased or diminished in quantity, has its natural and its market price. The natural price of labour is that price which is necessary to enable the labourers, one with another, to subsist and to perpetuate their race, without either increase or diminution.

The power of the labourer to support himself, and the family which may be necessary to keep up the number of labourers, does not depend on the quantity of money which he may receive for wages, but on the quantity of food, necessities, and conveniences become essential to him from habit, which that money will purchase. The natural price of labour, therefore, depends

on the price of the food, necessities, and conveniences required for the support of the labourer and his family. With a rise in the price of food and necessities, the natural price of labour will rise; with the fall in their price, the natural price of labour will fall.

With the progress of society the natural price of labour has always a tendency to rise, because one of the principal commodities by which its natural price is regulated, has a tendency to become dearer, from the greater difficulty of producing it. As, however, the improvements in agriculture, the discovery of new markets, whence provisions may be imported, may for a time counteract the tendency to a rise in the price of necessities, and may even occasion their natural price to fall, so will the same causes produce the correspondent effects on the natural price of labour.

The natural price of all commodities, excepting raw produce and labour, has a tendency to fall, in the progress of wealth and population; for though, on one hand, they are enhanced in real value, from the rise in

---

Source: David Ricardo, *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, in Pierro Sraffa and M. H. Dobb, eds., *Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), 93–95.



the natural price of the raw material of which they are made, this is more than counterbalanced by the improvements in machinery, by the better division and distribution of labour, and by the increasing skill, both in science and art, of the producers.

The market price of labour is the price which is really paid for it, from the natural operation of the proportion of the supply to the demand; labour is dear when it is scarce, and cheap when it is plentiful. However much the market price of labour may deviate from its natural price, it has, like commodities, a tendency to conform to it.

It is when the market price of labour exceeds its natural price, that the condition of the labourer is flourishing and happy, that he has it in his power to command a greater proportion of the necessities and enjoyments of life, and therefore to rear a healthy and numerous family. When, however, by the encouragement which high wages give to the increase of population, the number of labourers is increased, wages again fall to their

natural price, and indeed from a reaction sometimes fall below it.

When the market price of labour is below its natural price, the condition of the labourers is most wretched: then poverty deprives them of those comforts which custom renders absolute necessities. It is only after their privations have reduced their number, or the demand for labour has increased, that the market price of labour will rise to its natural price, and that the labourer will have the moderate comforts which the natural rate of wages will afford.

Notwithstanding the tendency of wages to conform to their natural rate, their market rate may, in an improving society, for an indefinite period, be constantly above it; for no sooner may the impulse, which an increased capital gives to a new demand for labour be obeyed, than another increase of capital may produce the same effect; and thus, if the increase of capital be gradual and constant, the demand for labour may give a continued stimulus to an increase of people.

## 11

# *A Utopian Vision:* **The Doctrine of Saint-Simon (1829)**

P R O S P E R L E N F A N T I N

In the first half of the nineteenth century, in response to the social dislocation occasioned by industrialization and urbanization, a diverse group of thinkers, the utopian socialists, emerged with plans to remedy the abuses of industrial capitalism. The utopians, though disparate, shared some common characteristics: all were motivated by the desire to help the poor; all featured some degree of economic planning; and all advocated the abolition of private property. It is not surprising that these thinkers, many of whom were French, influenced the early works of Karl Marx (1818–1883). These early socialists shared a final attribute: their respective schemes for new societies were all impractical and based on pious hopes about the good will of their fellow human beings—thus the rubric “utopian.” Henri de Saint-Simon (1760–1825), descendant of the famous memoir writer Duc de Saint-Simon (1675–1755) of Louis XIV’s reign (r. 1643–1715), was one such utopian socialist. While his dreams for a new form of society never materialized, his belief that society should be directed by men of action, such as en-

gineers and investment bankers, would have a resonance well into the twentieth century. Four years after his death, Saint-Simon's followers published *The Doctrine of Saint-Simon*, which is excerpted here.

### Questions to Consider

- What was to be the basis of allocation of the fruits of industry in the new “universal association”?
- What, according to Saint-Simon, had prevented the establishment of an egalitarian society? How could this be remedied?

A new science, a science as *positive* as any that deserves the title, has been created by SAINT-SIMON: this science is that of the *human race*; its method is the same employed by astronomy and physics; the facts within it are grouped within a series of homogeneous classes, linked to each other within an order of *generalization* and *particularization*, in such a way as to bring out the special *proclivity* of each, that is to say, to demonstrate the law of *increase* and *decrease* to which all must submit.

A primary application of this science proves the tendency of the human race toward *universal association*, or, in other words, the constant diminution of *antagonism*, explained in succession by these words: *families, castes, cities, nations, HUMANITY*; whence results that societies, originally organized for *war*, tend to blend into a *peaceful* UNIVERSAL ASSOCIATION.

A general picture of the development of the human race, including Jewish monotheism, Greek and Roman polytheism, and Christianity up to the present, demonstrates with proof this law of PROGRESS.

Up to now, man has exploited man. Masters and slaves; patrician, plebeian; lords, serfs; owners, farmers; idlers and workers—behold the progressive history of humanity up to our day. Behold our future with UNIVERSAL ASSOCIATION: *to each according to his capacity, to each capacity according to its productivity*, behold the new law which replaces that of *conquest* and of BIRTH: man no longer exploits man; but man, linked to man, exploits the natural world delivered to his power.

Ah! What do our lawyers, political journalists, economists come to tell us today? Does not their science prove to us that wealth and misery shall always be *hereditary*; that wealth is a necessary *attribute* of idleness? Does it not also prove that the sons of the poor are as free as those of the rich? Free! When one needs bread!

That they are all *equal before the law*? Equal before the law? When one has the right to live without working, and the other—if he doesn't work, has only the right to die.

They repeat to us without end that property is the foundation of the social order; we too proclaim this eternal truth. But who shall be the property owner? Shall it be the *lazy, ignorant, IMMORAL* son of a deceased man, or shall it be rather the man capable of fulfilling his social function with dignity? They claim that all privileges of birth have been destroyed. Ah! What is the transmission of a fortune from father to son, with no other reason than the link of blood, if it is not the most *immoral* of all privileges—that of *living in society without working*, and there to be rewarded above and beyond one's labor?

A sad science, which would have maintained slavery, which would have stopped JESUS from preaching human *brotherhood*, fearful that His words might have resounded in the ears of a slave; a sad science that in an age even more distant would have proclaimed the validity of cannibalism!

Yes, all our political theorists have their eyes on the past, even those who claim themselves to be worthy of the future; and when we have announced to them the arrival of the reign of WORK, and that the reign of idleness is over, they have treated us as dreamers; they tell us that sons have always inherited from their fathers, like a pagan saying that a free man has always owned slaves. But humanity has proclaimed through JESUS, NO MORE SLAVERY! Through SAINT-SIMON it now cries: *to each according to his capacity, to each capacity according to its productivity*, NO MORE INHERITANCE!

All the members of the body social are men, but all too are *artists, scholars, or businessmen*; in other words, all *feel, think, or act*. This triple aspect of human life provides the occasion for a triple division in general and specialized education. This is the conception which serves as a foundation for education in the future, for which we have sketched the principal developments in summary fashion.

---

Source: *The Doctrine of Saint-Simon*, in Howard E. Hugo, ed., *The Portable Romantic Reader* (New York: Viking, 1957), 505–507.



# "What Is Property?": A Socialist's Answer (1840)

PIERRE JOSEPH  
PROUDHON

In the first half of the nineteenth century, in response to the social dislocation occasioned by industrialization and urbanization, a diverse group of thinkers, the utopian socialists, emerged with plans to remedy the abuses of industrial capitalism. The utopians, though disparate, shared some common characteristics: all were motivated by the desire to help the poor; all featured some degree of economic planning; and all advocated the abolition of private property. It is not surprising that these thinkers, many of whom were French, influenced the early works of Karl Marx (1818–1883). These early socialists shared a final attribute: their respective schemes for new societies were all impractical and based on pious hopes about the good will of their fellow human beings—thus the rubric "utopian." Henri de Saint-Simon (1760–1825) and Charles Fourier (1772–1837) were typical of this type of socialism. Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865), however, did not quite fit into the utopian category of early socialists. A man of working-class origins, Proudhon published *What Is Property?* in 1840, its provocative title making something of a stir by itself. Proudhon did not want to abolish private property completely, but he did want to redistribute it so that the working class would get its rightful share, a position which Marx condemned as a compromise with bourgeois values.

## Questions to Consider

- What is property, according to Proudhon?
- How does Proudhon justify his answer?

If I were called upon to answer the following question: *What is slavery?* and I replied: *It is murder*, my meaning would be comprehended immediately. There would be no need for amplification to demonstrate that the power to deprive a man of his thought, will, and personality is the power of life and death and that to make a man a slave is to kill him. Why, therefore, may I not meet this other question: *What is property?* by replying: *It is theft*, without feeling certain I shall be mis-

understood, although this second proposition is no more than a transformation of the first?

I am taking it upon myself to discuss property, the essential principle of our government and our institutions. I am within my rights. I may be deceived in the conclusion to which my researchers lead me. I am within my rights. It pleases me to state my conclusion at the outset. I am still within my rights.

Such and such an author preaches that property is a civil right, generated by labor and sanctioned by law. Another maintains that it is a natural right which derives its origin from work. Both these doctrines, contradictory though they may appear, are endorsed and promoted. It is my contention that neither labor, nor

Source: Pierre Joseph Proudhon, *What Is Property?* in Geoffrey Bruun, ed., *Revolution and Reaction, 1848–1852* (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand, 1958), 109–110.

business, nor law can create property: that it is an effect without a cause. Should I be reproved for this?

Yet I hear murmurs arising!

—*Property is theft!* This is the slogan of '93! This is the rallying cry of revolution.

Reader, reassure yourself. I am not an instrument of discord, a seditious incendiary. I am anticipating history a little; I am revealing a truth the march of which

we are attempting in vain to halt. I proclaim the preamble of our future constitution. If our prepossessions would permit us to consider it, the definition *Property is theft*, which you deem heretical, might prove a lightning rod to deflect the thunderbolt. But how many interests, how many prejudices stand in the way! Philosophy, alas, will not alter the progress of events. Destiny will fulfill itself regardless of prophecy....

## 13

# *Life Among the Laboring Poor: A Cotton Spinner's Wife Tells Her Tale (1833)*

## P A R L I A M E N T

In this excerpt from the "Reports from Factory Commissioners" in the *Parliamentary Papers* of 1833, we are presented with the harshness of life among the working classes in industrializing Great Britain. The inventory of the meager belongings, the weekly budget, and the long working hours are all testaments to the rigors of early industrialization.

### Questions to Consider

- How does the wife characterize her and her family's existence?
- How does she manage the family economy on the small amount of money brought in by her husband and daughter?
- What do you think the questioner was really trying to discover with his line of questioning? What were his motives?



Her husband is a fine spinner, at Mr. ———, where he has been from 1816, has five children. Her eldest daughter, now going on fourteen, has been her father's piecer for three years. At her present age, her labor is worth 4s. 6d. a week, and has been worth as much for these last four months; before, it was worth less. At present her husband's earnings and her daughter's together amount to about 25s. a week—at least she sees no more than 25s. a week; and before his daughter could piece for him, and when he had to pay for a piecer in her stead, he only brought home 19s. or 20s. a week.

Rent of house, 3s. 6d. a week.

Breakfast is generally porridge, bread and milk, lined with flour or oatmeal. On Sunday, a sup of tea and bread and butter.—Dinner, on week days, potatoes and bacon, and bread, which is generally white. On a Sunday, a little flesh meat; no butter, egg, or pudding.—Tea-time, every day, tea, and bread and butter; nothing extra on Sunday at tea.—Supper, oatmeal porridge and milk; sometimes potatoes and milk. Sunday, sometimes a little bread and cheese for supper: never have this on week days. Now and then buys eggs when they are as low as a halfpenny apiece, and fries them to bacon.

They never taste any other vegetables than potatoes; never use any beer or spirits; now and then may take a gill of beer when ill, which costs a penny. Perhaps she and her husband may have two gills a week. Her husband never drinks any beer or spirits that she knows of beyond this. The house consists of four rooms, two on each floor; the furniture consists of two beds in the same room, one for themselves, the other for the children; have four chairs, one table in the house, boxes to put clothes in, no chest of drawers, two pans and a tea kettle for boiling, a gridiron and frying-pan, half-a-dozen large and small plates, four pair of knives and forks, several pewter spoons. They subscribe 1d. a week for each child to a funeral society for the children. Two of the children go to school at 3d. a week each: they are taught reading for this, but not writing. Have a few books, such as a Bible, hymn-book, and several small books that the children have got as prizes at the Sunday School. Four children go to Stott's Sunday School.

QUESTION. Does your daughter, who pieces for her father, seem much fatigued when she comes home at night?

Source: "Reports from Factory Commissioners," *Parliamentary Paper* (1833), in Walter Arnstein, ed., *The Past Speaks*, 2d ed. (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1993), 2:178–180.

ANSWER. No, she does not seem much fatigued. She is coming of an age that perhaps she may be. She has a good appetite. Hears her complain of headache sometimes; does not hear her complain of not sleeping

Q. Do you think that people in your own way of life, spinners and such like, and their families, are better off than yourselves, or worse off, or just about the same?

A. Well, some's better, some's worse, some's the same. It is according to their work—whether they work upon fine or coarse work.

Q. I want to know whether the most are like off to yourselves. Now, at Mr. — mill, are most of the parents of children as well off, or better off, than yourself?

A. Well, they are most of them at his mill as well off as we ourselves, because it is one of the best mills in the town. There is not many better than his.

In answer to questions concerning herself, she said she should be forty years old on Whitsun Monday: that at fourteen years old she began frame-tenting, and worked at it for two years every day, from six in the morning till eight in the evening—sometimes from half-past five in the morning. She then went to stretching, at which she worked till twenty-five years old: at that she worked fourteen hours a day regularly every day. At twenty-five years old she married, and has staid at home ever since. Her father was a bleacher, her mother a spinner. Has eight brothers and sisters; but can't give no idea whether her brothers and sisters are bigger or less than her parents, because her mother took them all away to America when she was a child.

Q. Should you say you were as healthy a woman now, as if you had not been a frame tenter or a stretcher?

A. Well, I don't know but what I am. I have not my health very well at present. I do not know that work injured it.

Q. How many different mills were you in when you were young?

A. In four mills. Has heard different language at some from others; some very bad, some very well. A child may pick up much bad in mills. Better to put a child in a mill than let it run in the streets; it won't get as much harm in a mill.

Q. Do girls run a chance of being bad by living in mills; in short, to be unchaste?

A. I can't say. I never see'd nothing of bad wherever I worked. It is according to their own endeavors a good deal.

*Consumption by the week, of different articles, by her husband, herself, and five children.*

	£	s.	d.
Butter, 1 1/2 lb, at 10d.	0	1	3
Tea, 1 1/2 oz.	0	0	4-1/2
Bread she makes herself: buys 24 lb. of flour—flour, barm, salt, and baking, cost	0	4	6
Half a peck of oatmeal	0	0	6-1/2
Bacon, 1 1/2 lb.	0	0	9
Potatoes, two score a week, at 8d. a score	0	1	4
Milk, a quart a day, at 3d. a quart	0	1	9
Flesh meat on Sunday, about a pound	0	0	7
Sugar, 1 1/2 lb. a week, at 6d.	0	0	9
Pepper, mustard, salt, and extras, say	0	0	3
Soap and candles	0	1	0
Coals	0	1	6
Rent	0	3	6
	£0	18	1
Alleged total of weekly income	£1	5	0
Deduct foregoing expenses	0	18	1
Leaves for clothing, sickness of seven persons, schooling, etc. a surplus of	£0	6	11

## 14

*The Cult of Domesticity:  
A System of Middle-Class  
Values and Social Duties  
(1838)*

S A R A H S T I C K N E Y E L L I S

In this selection, Sarah Stickney Ellis (1812–1872), a typical middle-class Englishwoman, presents a thorough defense of the social order in Great Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century, especially the role of middle-class women in that order. Ellis wrote eloquently of both familial and social duties of women of



her class. Reflective of her age, Mrs. Ellis stated that women must also maintain a strong moral stance and pursue lofty causes to which they could devote themselves. It is important to remember that Ellis is representative of the privileged elite of Britain; her attitudes and behavior would scarcely be found among the popular classes.

### Questions to Consider

- According to Ellis, what are the basic duties of middle-class women?
- How can one characterize the role of the middle-class woman in her family?

One of the noblest features in her national character...is the domestic character of England—the home comforts, and fireside virtues for which she is so justly celebrated. These I hope to be able to speak of without presumption, as intimately associated with, and dependent upon, the moral feelings and habits of the women of this favored country...

In looking around, then, upon our "nation of shopkeepers," we readily perceive that by dividing society into three classes, as regards what is commonly called rank, the middle class must include so vast a portion of the intelligence and moral power of the country at large, that it may not improperly be designated the pillar of our nation's strength, its base being the important class of the laborious poor, and its rich and highly ornamental capital, the ancient nobility of the land. In no other country is society thus beautifully proportioned, and England should beware of any deviation from the order and symmetry of her national column...

Perhaps it may be necessary to be more specific in describing the class of women to which this work relates. It is, then, strictly speaking, to those who belong to that great mass of the population of England which is connected with trade and manufactures;—or, in order to make the application more direct, to that portion of it who are restricted to the services of from one to four domestics,—who, on the one hand, enjoy the advantages of a liberal education, and, on the other, have no pretension to family rank...

It is from the class of females above described, that we naturally look for the highest tone of moral feeling, because they are at the same time removed from the pressing necessities of absolute poverty, and admitted to the intellectual privileges of the great: and thus,

while they enjoy every facility in the way of acquiring knowledge, it is their still higher privilege not to be exempt from the domestic duties which call forth the best energies of the female character.

"What shall I do to gratify myself—to be admired—or to vary the tenor of my existence?" are not the questions which a woman of right feelings asks on first awaking to the avocations of the day. Much more congenial to the highest attributes of woman's character, are inquiries such as these: "How shall I endeavor through this day to turn the time, the health, and the means permitted me to enjoy, to the best account? Is any one sick, I must visit their chamber without delay, and try to give their apartment an air of comfort, by arranging such things as the wearied nurse may not have thought of. Is any one about to set off on a journey, I must see that the early meal is spread, to prepare it with my own hands, in order that the servant, who was working late last night, may profit by unbroken rest. Did I fail in what was kind or considerate to any of the family yesterday; I will meet her this morning with a cordial welcome, and show, in the most delicate way I can, that I am anxious to atone for the past. Was any one exhausted by the last day's exertion, I will be an hour before them this morning, and let them see that their labor is so much in advance. Or, if nothing extraordinary occurs to claim my attention, I will meet the family with a consciousness that, being the least engaged of any member of it, I am consequently the most at liberty to devote myself to the general good of the whole, by cultivating cheerful conversation, adapting myself to the prevailing tone of feeling, and leading those who are least happy, to think and speak of what will make them more so."...

Above all other characteristics of the women of England, the strong moral feeling pervading even their most trifling and familiar actions, ought to be mentioned as most conducive to the maintenance of that high place which they so justly claim in the society of their native land.... The women of England are not surpassed by those of any other country for their clear per-

---

Source: Sarah Stickney Ellis, *The Women of England: Their Social Duties and Domestic Habits*, in Walter Arnstein, ed., *The Past Speaks*, 2d ed. (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1993), 2:172–175.

ception of the right and the wrong of common and familiar things, for their reference to principle in the ordinary affairs of life, and for their united maintenance of that social order, sound integrity, and domestic peace, which constitute the foundation of all that is most valuable in the society of our native land.

Much as I have said of the influence of the domestic habits of my country-women, it is, after all, to the prevalence of religious instruction, and the operation of religious principle upon the heart, that the consistent maintenance of their high tone of moral character is to be attributed.... Women are said to be more easily brought under this influence than men; and we consequently see, in places of public worship, and on all occasions in which a religious object is the motive for exertion, a greater proportion of women than of men....

If...all was confusion and neglect at home—filial appeals unanswered—domestic comforts uncalculated—husbands, sons, and brothers referred to servants for all the little offices of social kindness, in order that the ladies of the family might hurry away at the appointed

time to some committee-room, scientific lecture, or public assembly: however laudable the object for which they met, there would be sufficient cause why their cheeks should be mantled with the blush of burning shame...which those whose charity has not begun at home, ought never to appropriate to themselves.

It is a widely mistaken notion to suppose that the sphere of usefulness recommended here, is a humiliating and degraded one.... With [some women] it is a favorite plea, brought forward in extenuation of their own uselessness, that they have no influence—that they are not leading women—that society takes no note of them....

It is not to be presumed that women *possess* more moral power than men; but happily for them, such are their early impressions, associations, and general position in the world, that their moral feelings are less liable to be impaired by the pecuniary objects which too often constitute the chief end of man, and which, even under the limitations of better principle, necessarily engage a large portion of his thoughts....

## 15

# *The Regulation of Prostitution in Vienna (1852)*

## V I E N N E S E P O L I C E C O D E

Prostitution is, of course, an ancient profession, and has long been subject to state regulation. In the industrializing and urbanizing nineteenth century, there was substantial growth of prostitution, a function of a rapidly increasing urban population, large numbers of young men, delayed marriage among the middle classes, and limited occupational choices for women. Typically, the authorities, realizing that it would be impossible to eradicate the practice, chose to regulate the trade by defining who was a prostitute and attempting to insure that prostitutes were free of sexually transmitted diseases. This second aim often resulted in rather blatant and serious infringement of the civil liberties of those women who found themselves plying the "oldest profession," but the authorities believed that they were doing what was best for society.



### Questions to Consider

- How did the Viennese police define a prostitute? Does this seem like a reasonable definition? Why or why not?
- To what procedures was a prostitute subject?

### Instructions for Police Treatment of Prostitutes, 1852

1. Under the designation prostitute is understood to be every woman who seeks business by exposing her body for sale in lewdness.
2. Under what circumstances the prostitute is officially conducted to the criminal court and what penalties in all other cases remain under police jurisdiction is determined by penal law.
3. The prostitute falls into the realm of police correction when she:
  - a. walks the streets, that is, she walks in such a way as to enlist business from men;

- b. loiters for the same end on doorsteps in allies or in open spaces;
  - c. has her residence in a house or part of the city in which are gathered such women of a conduct similar to those of a bordello or in a region known for its lewd manners;
  - d. lures people in a shameless way from a window or from an open air part of the house, or otherwise offends public decency, and not only in a criminal way.
4. Every one who is defined under these as a street-walker and who is held in detention is subject to the following proceedings:
    - a. a medical examination;
    - b. an inquiry into her present situation, and
    - c. her past, in order to
    - d. conduct an investigation into her methods of earning a living and her personal relationships.
  5. Should such a female qualify as a prostitute and be found ill, she must first of all go to the hospital or according to the circumstances to an investigatory hospital and after a successful cure further investigation will be undertaken.

---

Source: Josef Schrank, *Die Prostitution in Wien* (Wien: Genossenschafts-Buchdruckerei, 1886), 316, in Bonnie Smith, *Changing Lives: Women in European History Since 1700* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1989), 150–151.

## 16

# *Survival of the Fittest Applied to Human Kind (1851)*

H E R B E R T   S P E N C E R

---

Even before Charles Darwin (1809–1882) published his work on evolution and the struggle for survival in 1859, such concepts were known. Indeed, one can

argue that the basic tenets of liberalism were imbued with the concept of survival of the fittest: those with greater intelligence, will power, industriousness, etc., succeeded while those without these qualities failed. Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), a social scientist, pushed this concept to its logical extension in his *Social Statics* (1851), arguing that charity for the poor contradicted natural law. In many ways, Spencer was following in the footsteps of Thomas Malthus's (1766–1834) demographic pronouncements on working-class poverty and sexual profligacy. Spencer was one of the leading figures in the pseudo-scientific movement known as social Darwinism, an intellectual trend that further justified the widening gap between rich and poor, the racial superiority inherent in European imperialism, and, ultimately, war.

### Questions to Consider

- Why should the state refrain from providing charity to the poor?
- What, according to Spencer, was the cause of poverty?

In common with its other assumptions of secondary offices, the assumption by a government of the office of Reliever-general to the poor, is necessarily forbidden by the principle that a government cannot rightly do anything more than protect. In demanding from a citizen contributions for the mitigation of distress—contributions not needed for the due administration of men's rights—the state is, as we have seen, reversing its function, and diminishing that liberty to exercise the faculties which it was instituted to maintain. Possibly,...some will assert that by satisfying the wants of the pauper, a government is in reality extending his liberty to exercise his faculties.... But this statement of the case implies a confounding of two widely different things. To enforce the fundamental law—to take care that every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man—this is the special purpose for which the civil power exists. Now insuring to each the right to pursue within the specified limits the objects of his de-

sires without let or hindrance, is quite a separate thing from insuring him satisfaction....

Pervading all nature we may see at work a stern discipline, which is a little cruel that it may be very kind. That state of universal warfare maintained throughout the lower creation, to the great perplexity of many worthy people, is at bottom the most merciful provision which the circumstances admit of.... The poverty of the incapable, the distresses that come upon the imprudent, the starvation of the idle, and those shoulderings aside of the weak by the strong, which leave so many "in shallows and in miseries," are the decrees of a large, farseeing benevolence. It seems hard that an unskillfulness which with all its efforts he cannot overcome, should entail hunger upon the artisan. It seems hard that a labourer incapacitated by sickness from competing with his stronger fellows, should have to bear the resulting privations. It seems hard that widows and orphans should be left to struggle for life or death. Nevertheless, when regarded not separately, but in connection with the interests of universal humanity, these harsh fatalities are seen to be full of the highest beneficence—the same beneficence which brings to early graves the children of diseased parents, and singles out the low-spirited, the intemperate, and the debilitated as the victims of an epidemic....

---

Source: Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics*, in J. Salwyn Schapiro, ed., *Liberalism: Its Meaning and History* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1958), 136–137.



## 17

# *The Theory of Natural Selection and the Evolution of Species (1859)*

C H A R L E S   D A R W I N

The theory of evolution, as outlined by Charles Darwin (1809–1882) in his *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* in 1859, did not spring full-born with the publication of Darwin's seminal work on evolution. The theory had been studied for a generation. Indeed many of the natural sciences, such as geology, were increasingly relying on evolutionary theory to explain the physical world. Philosophers and political theorists also adopted a form of evolutionary theory; Auguste Comte's (1798–1857) theory of positivism and Karl Marx's (1818–1883) view of history are but two examples. Darwin had spent his younger years traveling and collecting data in South America, including his famous voyage on the *H.M.S. Beagle* as the official naturalist when he visited the remarkable Galapagos Islands. Darwin concluded that the earth was much older than historical accounts suggested and that fossil evidence supported the theory that thousands of species had come and gone, their continued existence based upon success in the fierce struggle for survival. Not everyone accepted Darwin's theory, especially the religious leadership. Others, however, quickly appropriated the theory and crudely applied it to human beings. The social Darwinists used Darwin's concepts to justify the wealth gap, European imperialism, and even war. In this excerpt from his seminal work on evolution, Darwin defends his conclusions.

## Questions to Consider

- Why were many religious leaders profoundly disturbed by Darwin's theories?
- Why were his theories attractive to social Darwinists? How do you think most liberals reacted to Darwin's theories?
- How does Darwin explain the evolution of species? Do you find his explanation convincing? Why or why not?
- How does Darwin respond to religious critics of his theories?

I have now recapitulated the facts and considerations which have thoroughly convinced me that species have been modified, during a long course of de-

scent. This has been effected chiefly through the natural selections of numerous successive, slight, favourable variations; aided in an important manner by the inherited effects of the use and disuse of parts; and in an unimportant manner, that is in relation to adaptive structures, whether past or present, by the direct action of external conditions, and by variations which seem to

Source: Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species and the Descent of Man* (New York: Modern Library, n.d.), 367–368, 373–374.

us in our ignorance to arise spontaneously.... But as my conclusions have lately been much misrepresented, and it has been stated that I attribute the modification of species exclusively to natural selection, I may be permitted to remark that in the first edition of this work, and subsequently, I placed in a most conspicuous position—namely, at the close of the Introduction—the following words: “I am convinced that natural selection has been the main but not the exclusive means of modification.” This has been of no avail. Great is the power of steady misrepresentation; but the history of science shows that fortunately this power does not long endure.

It can hardly be supposed that a false theory would explain, in so satisfactory a manner as does the theory of natural selection, the several large classes of facts above specified. It has recently been objected that this is an unsafe method of arguing; but it is a method used in judging of the common events of life, and has often been used by the greatest natural philosophers. The undulatory theory of light has thus been arrived at; and the belief in the revolution of the earth on its own axis was until lately supported by hardly any direct evidence. It is no valid objection that science as yet throws no light on the far higher problem of the essence or origin of life. Who can explain what is the essence of the attraction of gravity? No one now objects to following out the results consequent on this unknown element of attraction; notwithstanding that Leibnitz formerly accused Newton of introducing “occult qualities and miracles into philosophy.”

I see no good reason why the views given in this volume should shock the religious feelings of any one. It is satisfactory, as showing how transient such impressions are, to remember that the greatest discovery ever made by man, namely, the law of the attraction of gravity, was also attacked by Leibnitz, “as subversive of natural, and inferentially of revealed, religion.” A celebrated author and divine has written to me that “he has gradually learnt to see that it is just as noble a conception of the Deity to believe that He created a few original forms capable of self-development into other and needful forms, as to believe that He required a fresh act of creation to supply the voids caused by the action of His laws.”...

...The chief cause of our natural unwillingness to admit that one species has given birth to clear and distinct species, is that we are always slow in admitting great changes of which we do not see the steps. The difficulty is the same as that felt by so many geologists, when Lyell first insisted that long lines of inland cliffs had been formed, and great valleys excavated, by the agencies which we see still at work. The mind cannot possibly grasp the full meaning of the term of even a million years; it cannot add up and perceive the full ef-

fects of many slight variations, accumulated during an almost infinite number of generations....

Authors of the highest eminence seem to be fully satisfied with the view that each species has been independently created. To my mind it accords better with what we know of the laws impressed on matter by the Creator, that the production and extinction of the past and present inhabitants of the world should have been due to secondary causes, like those determining the birth and death of the individual. When I view all beings not as special creations, but as the lineal descendants of some few beings which lived long before the first bed of the Cambrian system was deposited, they seem to me to become ennobled. Judging from the past, we may safely infer that not one living species will transmit its unaltered likeness to a distant futurity. And of the species now living very few will transmit progeny of any kind to a far distant futurity; for the manner in which all organic beings are grouped, shows that the greater number of species in each genus, and all the species in many genera, have left no descendants, but have become utterly extinct. We can so far take a prophetic glance into futurity as to foretell that it will be the common and widely-spread species, belonging to the larger and dominant groups within each class, which will ultimately prevail and procreate new and dominant species. As all the living forms of life are the lineal descendants of those which lived long before the Cambrian epoch, we may feel certain that the ordinary succession by generation has never once been broken, and that no cataclysm has desolated the whole world. Hence we may look with some confidence to a secure future of great length. And as natural selection works solely by and for the good of each being, all corporeal and mental endowments will tend to progress towards perfection.

It is interesting to contemplate a tangled bank, clothed with many plants of many kinds, with birds singing on the bushes, with various insects flitting about, and with worms crawling through the damp earth, and to reflect that these elaborately constructed forms, so different from each other, and dependent upon each other in so complex a manner, have all been produced by laws acting around us.... Thus, from the war of nature, from famine and death, the most exalted object which we are capable of conceiving, namely, the production of the higher animals, directly follows. There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one; and that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been and are being evolved.



## 18

# A Clergyman's Response to Darwin (1860)

B I S H O P   S A M U E L  
W I L B E R F O R C E

The theory of evolution, as outlined by Charles Darwin (1809–1882) in his *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* in 1859, did not spring full-born with the publication of Darwin's seminal work on evolution. The theory had been studied for a generation. Indeed many of the natural sciences, such as geology, were increasingly relying on evolutionary theory to explain the physical world. Philosophers and political theorists also adopted a form of evolutionary theory; Auguste Comte's (1798–1857) theory of positivism and Karl Marx's (1818–1883) view of history are but two examples. Darwin had spent his younger years traveling and collecting data in South America, including his famous voyage on the *H.M.S. Beagle* as the official naturalist when he visited the remarkable Galapagos Islands. Darwin concluded that the earth was much older than historical accounts suggested and that fossil evidence supported the theory that thousands of species had come and gone, their continued existence based upon success in the fierce struggle for survival. Not everyone accepted Darwin's theory, especially the religious leadership. One such attack came from the Anglican bishop Samuel Wilberforce (1805–1873), who challenged Darwin's conclusions and indeed the entire nature of Darwin's approach to natural science.

## Questions to Consider

- How does Bishop Wilberforce present his case against Darwin?
- What does Wilberforce's method of argumentation reveal about the relative influence of religion and science in nineteenth-century Europe?

The conclusion, then, to which Mr. Darwin would bring us is, that all the various forms of vegetable and animal life with which the globe is now peopled, or of which we find the remains preserved

in a fossil state in the great earth-museum around us, which the science of geology unlocks for our instruction,...“have descended from some one primordial form into which life was first breathed by the Creator.” This is the theory which really pervades the whole volume. Man, beast, creeping thing, and plant of the earth, are all the lineal and direct descendants of some one individual *ens*, whose various progeny have been simply modified by the action of natural and ascertainable conditions into the multiform aspect of life which we see

Source: Samuel Wilberforce, *The Quarterly Review*, Vol. 108 (1860), in Walter Arnstein, ed., *The Past Speaks*, 2d ed. (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1993), 2:215–217.

around us. This is undoubtedly at first sight a somewhat startling conclusion to arrive at. To find that mosses, grasses, turnips, oaks, worms, and flies, mites and elephants, infusoria and whales, tadpoles of to-day and venerable saurians, truffles and men, are all equally the lineal descendants of the same aboriginal common ancestor....—This, to say the least of it, is no common discovery—no very expected conclusion....

We come then to these conclusions. All the facts presented to us in the natural world tend to show that none of the variations produced in the fixed forms of animal life, when seen in its most plastic condition under domestication, give any promise of a true transmutation of species; first, from the difficulty of accumulating and fixing variations within the same species; secondly, from the fact that these variations, though most serviceable for man, have no tendency to improve the individual beyond the standard of his own specific type, and so to afford matter, even if they were infinitely produced, for the supposed power of natural selection on which to work; whilst all variations from the mixture of species are barred by the inexorable law of hybrid sterility. Further, the embalmed records of 3,000 years show that there has been no beginning of transmutation in the species of our most familiar domesticated animals; and beyond this, that in the countless tribes of animal life around us, down to its lowest and most variable species, no one have ever discovered a single instance of such transmutation being now in prospect; no new

organ has ever been known to be developed—no new natural instinct to be formed—whilst, finally, in the vast museum of departed animal life which the strata of the earth imbed for our examination, whilst they contain far too complete a representation of the past to be set aside as a mere imperfect record, yet afford no one instance of any such change as having ever been in progress, or give us anywhere the missing links of the assumed chain, or the remains which would enable now existing variations, by gradual approximations to shade off into unity....

Few things have more deeply injured the cause of religion than the busy fussy energy with which men, narrow and feeble alike in faith and in science, have bustled forth to reconcile all new discoveries in physics with the word of inspiration. For it continually happens that some larger collection of facts, or some wider view of the phenomena of nature, alter the whole philosophic scheme; whilst revelation has been committed to declare an absolute agreement with what turns out after all to have been a misconception or an error. We cannot, therefore, consent to test the truth of natural science by the word of revelation. But this does not make it the less important to point out on scientific grounds scientific errors, when those errors tend to limit God's glory in creation, or to gainsay the revealed relations of that creation to Himself. To both these classes of error, though, we doubt not, quite unintentionally on his part, we think that Mr. Darwin's speculations directly tend.

## 19

# *The Liberal Dilemma: Extension of the Franchise— A Yes Vote (1866)*

J O H N B R I G H T

In 1867, Parliament passed the second major Reform Bill of the nineteenth century, which gave the vote to the British lower middle class and the highest rank of the working class. This franchise extension was restricted to males, of course; British women would not receive the vote until 1918, despite the vigorous efforts



of the women's suffrage movement. While it resulted in a significant enlargement of the voting population, the new Reform Bill did not represent the democratization envisioned by the Chartist movement of the 1840s. The reform did, however, push Britain closer to a democratic political culture, with mass political parties competing for popular votes. In the debate on the Reform Bill of 1867, British liberals faced the hard choice of supporting or opposing the measure. Liberals had always contended that the vote was something one earned individually, like one's economic success. On the other hand, the political realities of a transforming society had a logic of their own, especially as these people to whom the franchise was to be extended were typically literate (always a major liberal requirement for voting rights) and generally reliable citizens. In this document, John Bright (1811–1889), a liberal member of Parliament, argues for the reform.

### Questions to Consider

- By what means does Bright justify his support of franchise extension?
- To what does Bright attribute opposition to the Reform Bill of 1867?

**W**ell, then, there is this question that will not sleep—the question of the admission of the people of this country to the rights which are guaranteed to them, and promised to them by everything that we comprehend as the Constitution of this United Kingdom....

I have always thought that it was one of the great objects of statesmen in our time not to separate the people into sections and classes, but rather to unite them all in one firm and compact body of citizenship, equally treated by the law, and equally loyal to the law and to the government of the country....

...Sir, I protest against...the theory that the people of this country have an unreasonable and violent desire to shake or overturn institutions which they may not theoretically approve of.... I am perfectly content to live under the institutions which the intelligence, and the virtue, and the experience of my countrymen fairly represented in Parliament shall determine upon....

The House of Commons is in reality the only guarantee we have for freedom. If you looked at any other country, and saw nothing but a monarch, he might be a good king and might do his best, but you would see that there is no guarantee for freedom—you know not who will be his successor. If you saw a country with no crown, but with a handful of nobles, administering the

government of the country, you would say there is no guarantee there for freedom, because a number of individuals acting together have not the responsibility, or the feeling of responsibility, that one man has, and they do things which one man would not dare to do.... It is only the existence of that House which makes the institution they are so fond of safe and permanent at all—and they are afraid that the five millions somehow or other will get into it. Now, I beg to tell them that the five millions will get into it, though they may not get into it all at once; and perhaps few men desire that they should, for I am opposed myself to great and violent changes, which create needless shocks, and which are accepted, if they are accepted, with great alarm.

But I will undertake to say that some portion, a considerable and effective portion, of those five millions will before many years are passed be freely allowed to vote for members of the House of Commons. It is not the democracy which these gentlemen are always afraid of that is the peril of this country. It was not democracy in 1832 that was the peril. It was the desperate antagonism of the class that then had power to the just claims and rights of the people....

England has long been famous for the enjoyment of personal freedom by her people. They are free to think, they are free to speak, they are free to write; and England has been famed of late years, and is famed now the world over, for the freedom of her industry and the greatness and the freedom of her commerce. I want to know then why it is that her people should not be free to vote.

---

Source: *The Speeches of John Bright, M.P.*, in Walter Arnstein, ed., *The Past Speaks*, 2d ed. (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1993), 2:230–233.

# *The Liberal Dilemma: Extension of the Franchise— A No Vote (1867)*

R O B E R T   L O W E

In 1867, Parliament passed the second major Reform Bill of the nineteenth century, which gave the vote to the British lower middle class and the highest rank of the working class. This franchise extension was restricted to males, of course; British women would not receive the vote until 1918, despite the vigorous efforts of the women's suffrage movement. While it resulted in a significant enlargement of the voting population, the new Reform Bill did not represent the democratization envisioned by the Chartist movement of the 1840s. The reform did, however, push Britain closer to a democratic political culture, with mass political parties competing for popular votes. In the debate on the Reform Bill of 1867, British liberals faced the hard choice of supporting or opposing the measure. Liberals had always contended that the vote was something one earned individually, like one's economic success. On the other hand, the political realities of a transforming society had a logic of their own, especially as these people to whom the franchise was to be extended were typically literate (always a major liberal requirement for voting rights) and generally reliable citizens. In this document, Robert Lowe (1811–1892), a liberal member of Parliament, argues vigorously against the Reform Bill.

## Questions to Consider

- Why does Lowe oppose franchise extension? Do you find his arguments convincing? Why or why not?
- Does his opposition to the bill run counter to the basic beliefs of liberalism? Why or why not?

If the working classes, in addition to being a majority in the boroughs, get a redistribution of the seats in their favor, it will follow that their influence will be

enormously increased. They will then urge the House of Commons to pass another Franchise Bill, and another Redistribution Bill to follow it... No one can tell where it will stop, and it will not be likely to stop until we get equal electoral districts and a qualification so low that it will keep out nobody. There is another matter with which my honorable friend has not dealt. I mean the point of combination among the working classes. To

---

Source: Robert Lowe, speech, in James Harvey Robinson and Charles Beard, eds., *Readings in Modern European History* (Boston: Ginn, 1909), 2:251–254.



many persons there appears great danger that the machinery which at present exists for strikes and trade unions may be used for political purposes.

I come now to the question of the representatives of the working classes. It is an old observation that every democracy is in some respect similar to a despotism. As courtiers and flatterers are worse than despots themselves, so those who flatter and fawn upon the people are generally very inferior to the people, the objects of their flattery and adulation. We see in America, where the people have undisputed power, that they do not send honest, hard-working men to represent them in Congress, but traffickers in office, bankrupts, men who have lost their character and been driven from every respectable way of life, and who take up politics as a last resource.

Now, Sir, democracy has yet another tendency, which it is worth while to study at the present moment. It is singularly prone to the concentration of power. Under it individual men are small and the government is great. That must be the character of a government which represents the majority, and which absolutely tramples down and equalizes everything except itself. And democracy has another strong peculiarity. It looks with the utmost hostility on all institutions not of immediate popular origin, which intervene between the people and the sovereign power which the people have set up.

Now, look what was done in France. Democracy has left nothing in that country between the people and the emperor except a bureaucracy which the emperor him-

self has created. In America it has done almost the same thing. You have there nothing to break the shock between the two great powers of the State. The wise men who framed the constitution tried to provide a remedy by dividing functions as much as possible. They assigned one function to the President, another to the Senate, a third to the Congress, and a fourth to the different States. But all their efforts have been in vain, and you see how two hostile camps have arisen, and the terrible duel which is now taking place between them....

I have now, Sir, traced as well as I can what I believe will be the natural results of a measure which, it seems to my poor imagination, is calculated, if it should pass into law, to destroy one after another those institutions which have secured for England an amount of happiness and prosperity which no country has ever reached or is ever likely to attain. Surely the heroic work of so many centuries, the matchless achievements of so many wise heads and strong hands, deserve a nobler consummation than to be sacrificed at the shrine of revolutionary passion or the maudlin enthusiasm of humanity. But if we do fall, we shall fall deservedly. Uncoerced by any external force, not borne down by any internal calamity, but in the full plethora of our wealth and the surfeit of our too exuberant prosperity, with our own rash and inconsiderate hands, we are about to pluck down on our own heads the venerable temple of our liberty and our glory. History may tell of other acts as signally disastrous, but of none more wanton, none more disgraceful.

## 21

# *An Eyewitness Account of the Paris Commune (1871)*

L O U I S E M I C H E L

Following the Prussian victories and the collapse of Napoleon III's (r. 1852–1871) regime in 1870, France entered another period of revolutionary crisis. The Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871) had destroyed the Second Empire (1852–1870). Thus, a constituent assembly was to meet at Versailles to draft a new constitution and negotiate the peace treaty with the victorious Prussians. The treaty was negotiated quickly enough; according to its terms, France had to

pay a sizable indemnity and cede the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine (for which the French harbored resentment until World War I). During these negotiations, Paris remained unconquered, though besieged by Prussian troops. Conditions in the city were horrific: bread was both scarce and expensive, and domestic animals were in constant danger of becoming an entrée. With the capitulation to the Prussians and the draconian peace signed, the people of Paris acted. Revolutionary committees were formed and soon established the Paris Commune, a social-democratic republic. The representatives at Versailles, who would eventually produce the constitution of the French Third Republic (1870–1940), ordered the French army to take over the siege from the Prussians. The Parisians remained defiant, but after four more months of siege, the Paris Commune was destroyed by the army in May 1871, during the ferocious “bloody week” in which thousands of Communards were killed and thousands more arrested and soon deported. In this selection, Louise Michel (1830–1905), a well-known and influential socialist feminist, presents her memories of the Commune.

### Questions to Consider

- What was the role of women in the Commune? How does Michel interpret this role?
- How does Michel characterize the Communards? How can one account for such attitudes and behavior?

In Montmartre, in the Eighteenth Arrondissement, we organized the Montmartre Vigilance Committee. Few of its members still survive, but during the Siege the committee made the reactionaries tremble. Every evening, we would burst out onto the streets from our headquarters at 41, chaussée Clignancourt, sometimes simply to talk up the Revolution, because the time for duplicity had passed. We knew how little the reactionary regime, in its death throes, valued its promises and the lives of its citizens, and the people had to be warned....

The members of the men’s Montmartre Vigilance Committee were remarkable persons. Never have I seen minds so direct, so unpretentious, and so elevated. Never have I seen individuals so clearheaded. I don’t know how this group managed to do it. There were no weaknesses. Something good and strong supported people.

The women were courageous also, and among them, too, there were some remarkable minds. I belonged to both committees, and the leanings of the two groups were the same. Sometime in the future the women’s committee should have its own history told. Or perhaps the two should be mingled, because people didn’t

worry about which sex they were before they did their duty. That stupid question was settled....

Ultimately the Montmartre Vigilance Committees were mowed down, like all revolutionary groups. The rare members still alive know how proud we were there and how fervently we flew the flag of the Revolution. Little did it matter to those who were there whether they were beaten to the ground unnoticed in battle or died alone in the sunlight. It makes no difference how the millstone moves so long as the bread is made.

Everything was beginning, or rather, beginning again, after the long lethargy of the Empire. The first organization of the Rights of Women had begun to meet on the rue Thévenot with Mmes Jules Simon, André Léo, and Maria Deraismes. At the meetings of the Rights of Women group, and at other meetings, the most advanced men applauded the idea of equality. I noticed—I had seen it before, and I saw it later—that men, their declarations notwithstanding, although they appeared to help us, were always content with just the appearance. This was the result of custom and the force of old prejudices, and it convinced me that we women must simply take our place without begging for it. The issue of political rights is dead. Equal education, equal trades, so that prostitution would not be the only lucrative profession open to a woman—that is what was real in our program. The Russian revolutionaries are right; evolution is ended and now revolution is necessary or the butterfly will die in its cocoon.

Heroic women were found in all social positions. At the professional school of Mme Poulin, women of all so-

---

Source: Louise Michel, in Bullitt Lowry and Elizabeth Ellington Guner, eds., *The Red Virgin: Memoirs of Louise Michel* (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1981), 58–59, 63–65, 67.



cial levels organized the Society for the Victims of the War. They would have preferred to die rather than surrender, and dispensed their efforts the best way they could, while demanding ceaselessly that Paris continue to resist the Prussian siege....

...[B]efore dawn on March 18 the Versailles reactionaries sent in troops to seize the cannon now held by the National Guard. One of the points they moved toward was the Butte of Montmartre, where our cannon had been taken. The soldiers of the reactionaries captured our artillery by surprise, but they were unable to haul them away as they had intended, because they had neglected to bring horses with them.

Learning that the Versailles soldiers were trying to seize the cannon, men and women of Montmartre swarmed up the Butte in a surprise maneuver. Those people who were climbing believed they would die, but they were prepared to pay the price.

The Butte of Montmartre was bathed in the first light of day, through which things were glimpsed as if they were hidden behind a thin veil of water. Gradually the crowd increased. The other districts of Paris, hearing of the events taking place on the Butte of Montmartre, came to our assistance.

The women of Paris covered the cannon with their bodies. When their officers ordered the soldiers to fire, the men refused. The same army that would be used to crush Paris two months later decided now that it did not want to be an accomplice of the reaction. They gave up their attempt to seize the cannon from the National Guard. They understood that the people were defending the Republic by defending the arms that the royalists and imperialists would have turned on Paris in agreement with the Prussians. When we had won our victory, I looked around and noticed my poor mother, who had followed me to the Butte of Montmartre, believing that I was going to die.

On this day, the eighteenth of March, the people wakened. If they had not, it would have been the tri-

umph of some king; instead it was a triumph of the people. The eighteenth of March could have belonged to the allies of kings, or to foreigners, or to the people. It was the people's....

Several of our side perished. Turpin, who was wounded near me on the eighteenth in the predawn attack on 6, rue des Rosiers, died at Lariboisière several days later. He told me to commend his wife to Georges Clemenceau, the mayor of the Eighteenth Arrondissement, and I carried out his dying wish.

I have never heard Clemenceau's testimony at the inquiry into the events of March 18; we weren't able to read newspapers when he gave his evidence. Clemenceau's indecisiveness, for which people reproach him, comes from the illusion he holds that he should wait for parliamentarianism to bring progress. But parliamentarianism is dead, and Clemenceau's illusion is some kind of infection he caught from the Bordeaux Assembly. When that assembly became the Versailles government, he fled from it. Properly, his place is in the streets, and when his anger is finally roused, he will go there. That is what remains of his revolutionary temperament. His indignation at some infamy will bring him out of his illusions, as he came out of the Bordeaux Assembly....

If the reaction had had as many enemies among women as it did among men, the Versailles government would have had a more difficult task subduing us. Our male friends are more susceptible to faintheartedness than we women are. A supposedly weak woman knows better than any man how to say: "It must be done." She may feel ripped open to her very womb, but she remains unmoved. Without hate, without anger, without pity for herself or others, whether her heart bleeds or not, she can say, "It must be done." Such were the women of the Commune. During Bloody Week, women erected and defended the barricade at the Place Blanche—and held it till they died....

## 22

# *The Gotha Program: Social Reformism over Social Revolution (1875)*

## GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

In 1875, the German social democrats adopted the Gotha Program, which enshrined the concept of parliamentary reformism to achieve the establishment of a socialist state. This was a sharp break with the revolutionary stance maintained by Karl Marx (1818–1883) and most other socialists. The German social democrats based their new program on the extension of universal manhood suffrage, which Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898) had included in the constitution for the German Empire in 1871. The German social democrats concluded that the German working classes would soon be a majority of the population and, thus, planned to use the parliamentary process to move Germany toward socialism gradually, so as to avoid the dangers of conservative reaction and the possibility of bloody repression as had happened to the Paris Commune in 1871. Their new strategy not only angered Marx, but also alarmed Chancellor Bismarck, who outlawed the Social Democratic Party in 1878. The social democrats persevered, and by 1914 theirs was the largest political party in Germany.

### Questions to Consider

- What are the key components of the Gotha Program? How would these result in the establishment of a socialist society?
- Why did both Marx and Bismarck respond so negatively to the Gotha Program?

1. Labor is the source of all wealth and of all civilization; and since it is only through society that generally productive labor is possible, the whole product of labor,

where there is a general obligation to work, belongs to society,—that is, to all its members, by equal right, and to each according to his reasonable needs.

In the society of to-day the means of production are a monopoly of the capitalistic class; the dependence of the working class, which results from this, is the cause of misery and servitude in all its forms.

The emancipation of labor requires the conversion of the means of production into the common property of

---

Source: Gotha Program (1875) in James Harvey Robinson and Charles Beard, eds., *Readings in Modern European History* (Boston: Ginn, 1909), 2:493–495.



society and the social regulation of all labor and its application for the general good, together with the just distribution of the product of labor.

The emancipation of labor must be the work of the laboring class itself, opposed to which all other classes are reactionary groups.

2. Proceeding from these principles, the socialist labor party of Germany endeavors by every lawful means to bring about a free State and a socialistic society, to effect the destruction of the iron law of wages by doing away with the system of wage labor, to abolish exploitation of every kind, and to extinguish all social and political inequality.

The socialist labor party of Germany, although for the time being confining its activity within national bounds, is fully conscious of the international character of the labor movement, and is resolved to meet all the obligations which this lays upon the laborer, in order to bring the brotherhood of all mankind to a full realization.

The socialist labor party of Germany, in order to prepare the way for the solution of the social question, demands the establishment of socialistic productive associations with the support of the State and under the

democratic control of the working people. These productive associations, for both industry and agriculture, are to be created to such an extent that the socialistic organization of all labor may result therefrom.

[In addition to the demand for universal suffrage for all above twenty years of age, secret ballot, freedom of the press, free and compulsory education, etc.,] the socialist labor party of Germany demands the following reforms in the present social organization: (1) the greatest possible extension of political rights and freedom in the sense of the above-mentioned demands; (2) a single progressive income tax, both State and local, instead of all the existing taxes, especially the indirect ones, which weigh heavily upon the people; (3) unlimited right of association; (4) a normal working day corresponding with the needs of society, and the prohibition of work on Sunday; (5) prohibition of child labor and all forms of labor by women which are dangerous to health or morality; (6) laws for the protection of the life and health of workmen, sanitary control of workmen's houses, inspection of mines, factories, workshops, and domestic industries by officials chosen by the workmen themselves, and an effective system of enforcement of the same; (7) regulation of prison labor.

## 23

# *The Modern Welfare State Is Born (1883)*

O T T O V O N B I S M A R C K

The "Iron Chancellor" Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898) dominated German politics until his abrupt dismissal by the new emperor William II (r. 1888–1918) in 1890. Bismarck dominated the diplomatic scene, deftly isolating France and containing Austro-Russian rivalry in the Balkans through a series of interlocking alliances. His efforts at maintaining peace and stability in Europe were based in no small part on his fear of the social revolution that might accompany a general European war. A staunch conservative, Bismarck was most apprehensive about the growth of the socialist movement; as a result, he had outlawed the Social Democratic political party in 1878. Despite this, the socialist movement continued to attract working-class adherents, a development that concerned Bismarck. In an effort to wean the workers away from socialism and ensure their loyalty to the German state, Bismarck introduced social welfare legislation in the Reichstag

(the imperial parliament) that included health and accident insurance and an old-age pension plan. This legislation, enacted in 1883, was the first step on the path to the modern welfare programs that were promulgated in Western Europe after World War II. In the speech introducing the legislation into the Reichstag, excerpted here, Bismarck explains his reasoning.

### Questions to Consider

- How does this speech indicate that Bismarck was not a liberal?
- How does Bismarck justify state intervention for the "protection of the weaker"?

Deputy Richter has called attention to the responsibility of the state for what it does, in the area now concerned. Well, gentlemen, I have a feeling that the state may also be responsible for its omissions. I am not of the opinion that "*laissez faire, laissez aller*," "pure Manchesterism in politics," "as you make your bed, so you must lie," "every man for himself, and

Devil take the hindmost," "to him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath," have applicability in a state, especially a monarchical, paternalistic state; on the contrary, I believe that those who thus condemn the intervention of the state for the protection of the weaker are themselves suspect of wishing to exploit the strength they have, be it capitalistic, be it rhetorical, be it what it may, to gain a following, to oppress others, to build party dominance, and of becoming annoyed as soon as this understanding is disturbed by any influence of the government.

Source: Otto von Bismarck, Speech Before the Reichstag, in J. Salwyn Shapiro, ed., *Liberalism: Its History and Meaning* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958), 174.

## 24

# *An Academic Nationalist Lectures the Next Generation of Germany's Leaders (ca. 1880s)*

H E I N R I C H V O N  
T R E I T S C H K E

As their countries drifted toward war, many Europeans seemed to accept, even revel in, such a possibility, as ardent nationalism (and its intellectually bankrupt stepchild social Darwinism) seemed to hold sway. Heinrich von Treitschke (1834–1896) was one of its most shrill voices. A one-time liberal, Treitschke had



converted to right-wing nationalism, a transformation sparked by Bismarck's unification of Germany in 1871. A professor of history, virulent nationalist, and ardent supporter of imperialism, Treitschke's lectures on politics and German history at the University of Berlin, which are excerpted in this selection, were immensely popular. He pompously delivered his views on the historic mission of Germany to a packed hall of undergraduate students, junior military officers, and government officials who cheered enthusiastically. His influence, though hard to judge, must have been considerable, perhaps even reaching the Crown Prince, the future William II (r. 1888–1918).

### Questions to Consider

- How does Heinrich von Treitschke connect the state with war?
- How is progress attained, according to Treitschke?
- What are the implications of his glorification of the state and of war?
- Do you find his statement that war is a natural law convincing? Why or why not?

The next essential function of the State is the conduct of war. The long oblivion into which this principle had fallen is a proof of how effeminate the science of government had become in civilian hands. In our century this sentimentality was dissipated by Clausewitz, but a one-sided materialism arose in its place, after the fashion of the Manchester school, seeing in man a biped creature, whose destiny lies in buying cheap and selling dear. It is obvious that this idea is not compatible with war, and it is only since the last war [1870–71] that a sounder theory arose of the State and its military power.

Without war no State could be. All those we know of arose through war, and the protection of their members by armed force remains their primary and essential task. War, therefore, will endure to the end of history, as long as there is multiplicity of States. The laws of human thought and of human nature forbid any alternative, neither is one to be wished for. The blind worshipper of an eternal peace falls into the error of isolating the State, or dreams of one which is universal, which we have already seen to be at variance with reason.

---

Source: Heinrich von Treitschke, *Politics*, abridged and edited by Hans Kohn, Blanche Dugdale and Torben de Bille, trans. (New York: Harcourt, 1965), 37–38.

Even as it is impossible to conceive of a tribunal above the State, which we have recognized as sovereign in its very essence, so it is likewise impossible to banish the idea of war from the world. It is a favourite fashion of our time to instance England as particularly ready for peace. But England is perpetually at war; there is hardly an instant in her recent history in which she has not been obliged to be fighting somewhere. The great strides which civilization makes against barbarism and unreason are only made actual by the sword. Between civilized nations also war is the form of litigation by which States make their claims valid. The arguments brought forward in these terrible law suits of the nations compel as no argument in civil suits can ever do. Often as we have tried by theory to convince the small States that Prussia alone can be the leader in Germany, we had to produce the final proof upon the battlefields of Bohemia and the [river] Main [in 1866].

Moreover war is a uniting as well as a dividing element among nations; it does not draw them together in enmity only, for through its means they learn to know and to respect each other's peculiar qualities.

It is important not to look upon war always as a judgment from God. Its consequences are evanescent; but the life of a nation is reckoned by centuries, and the final verdict can only be pronounced after the survey of whole epochs.

# *A Russian Zionist Makes the Case for a Jewish Homeland (1882)*

L E O P I N S K E R

The late nineteenth century—the age of imperialism, economic rivalry, extreme nationalism, and social Darwinism—was also the age in which modern anti-Semitism as a mass ideology emerged. Its adherents blamed Jews for virtually everything from economic problems facing small-scale businesses as the nefarious leaders of international capitalism to class conflicts as the leaders of the international socialist movement. Indeed, according to the more vitriolic anti-Semites, Jews were responsible for a decline of Western civilization (a remarkable assertion in light of the expansion of European wealth and overseas empires) brought on by Jewish rates of biological reproduction and “sinister” interbreeding with non-Jews. Anti-Semitism was especially violent in the Russian Empire as Jews were the victims of pogroms (racially motivated attacks) that were usually condoned, and often organized, by tsarist officials. In this selection, excerpted from an 1882 pamphlet, Leo Pinsker, a Russian Jew, offers his analysis of the problem and a solution. Pinsker rejects the concepts of emancipation and assimilation, then prevalent among Western European Jews, as chimeras unable to protect Jews from rising anti-Semitism. His solution is the establishment of a Jewish state.

## Questions to Consider

- According to Pinsker, why is “Judeophobia” so prevalent?
- Why does he reject emancipation and assimilation?
- Why is a Jewish homeland the only viable solution, according to Pinsker?
- How does Pinsker’s pamphlet echo nationalism?

**T**hat hoary problem, subsumed under the Jewish question, today, as ever in the past, provokes discussion. Like the squaring of the circle it remains

unsolved, but unlike it, continues to be the ever-burning question of the day. That is because the problem is not one of mere theoretical interest: it renews and revives in everyday life and presses ever more urgently for solution.

This is the kernel of the problem, as we see it: *the Jews comprise a distinctive element among the nations under which they dwell, and as such can neither assimilate nor be readily digested by any nation.*

Source: Leo Pinsker, *Auto-Emancipation: An Appeal to His People by a Russian Jew* in Robert Chazan and Marc Lee Raphael, eds., *Modern Jewish History: A Source Reader* (New York: Schocken Books, 1974), 161, 163, 165–166, 169–171, 173–174.



Hence the solution lies in finding a means of so readjusting this exclusive element to the family of nations, that the basis of the Jewish question will be permanently removed....

A fear of the Jewish ghost has passed down the generations and the centuries. First a breeder of prejudice, later in the conjunction with other forces we are about to discuss, it culminated in Judeophobia.

Judeophobia, together with other symbols, superstitions, and idiosyncrasies, has acquired legitimacy among all the peoples of the earth with whom the Jews had intercourse. Judeophobia is a variety of demonopathy with the distinction that it is not peculiar to particular races but is common to the whole of mankind, and that this ghost is not disembodied like other ghosts but partakes of flesh and blood, must endure pain inflicted by the fearful mob who imagines itself endangered.

Judeophobia is a psychic aberration. As a psychic aberration it is hereditary, and as a disease transmitted for two thousand years it is incurable....

The Jews are aliens who can have no representatives, because they have no country. Because they have none, because their home has no boundaries within which they can be entrenched, their misery too is boundless. The *general law* does not apply to the Jews as true aliens, but there are everywhere *laws for the Jews*, and if the general law is to apply to them, a special and explicit bylaw is required to confirm it. Like the Negroes, like women, and unlike all free peoples, they must be *emancipated*. If, unlike the Negroes, they belong to an advanced race, and if, unlike women, they can produce not only women of distinction, but also distinguished men, even men of greatness, then it is very much the worse for them.

Since the Jew is nowhere at home, nowhere regarded as a native, he remains an alien everywhere. That he himself and his ancestors as well are born in the country does [not] alter this fact in the least.

When we are ill-used, robbed, plundered, and dishonored, we dare not defend ourselves, and, worse still, we take it almost as a matter of course. When our face is slapped, we soothe our burning cheek with cold water; and when a bloody wound has been inflicted, we apply a bandage. When we are turned out of the house which we ourselves built, we beg humbly for mercy, and when we fail to reach the heart of our oppressor we move on in search of another exile.

When an idle spectator on the road calls out to us: "You poor Jewish devils are certainly to be pitied," we are most deeply touched; and when a Jew is said to be an honor to his people, we are foolish enough to be proud of it. We have sunk so low that we become almost jubilant when, as in the West, a small fraction of our people is put on an equal footing with non-Jews. But he who must be *put* on a footing stands but weakly. If no notice is taken of our descent and we are treated like others born in the country, we express our gratitude

by actually turning renegades. For the sake of the comfortable position we are granted, for the fleshpots which we may enjoy in peace, we persuade ourselves, and others, that we are no longer Jews, but full-blooded citizens. Idle delusion! Though you prove yourselves patriots a thousand times, you will still be reminded at every opportunity of your Semitic descent. This fateful *memento mori* will not prevent you, however, from accepting the extended hospitality, until some fine morning you find yourself crossing the border and you are reminded by the mob that you are, after all, nothing but vagrants and parasites, without the protection of the law.

But even humane treatment does not prove that we are welcome.... Moreover, the belief in a Messiah, in the intervention of a higher power to bring about our political resurrection, and the religious assumption that we must bear patiently divine punishment, caused us to abandon every thought of our national liberation, unity, and independence. Consequently, we have renounced the idea of a nationhood and did so the more readily since we were preoccupied with our immediate needs. Thus we sank lower and lower. The people *without a country forgot their country*. Is it not high time to perceive the disgrace of it all?

Happily, matters stand somewhat differently now. The events of the last few years in *enlightened* Germany, in Romania, in Hungary, and especially in Russia, have effected what the far bloodiest persecutions of the Middle Ages could not. The national consciousness which until then had lain dormant in sterile martyrdom awoke the masses of the Russian and Romanian Jews and took form in an irresistible movement toward Palestine. Mistaken as this movement has proved to be by its results, it was, nevertheless, a right instinct to strike out for home. The severe trials which they have endured have now provoked a reaction quite different from the fatalistic submission to a divine condign punishment. Even the unenlightened masses of the Russian Jews have not entirely escaped the influences of the principles of modern culture. Without renouncing Judaism and their faith, they revolted against undeserved ill-treatment which could be inflicted with impunity only because the Russian Government regards the Jews as aliens. And the other European governments—why should they concern themselves with the citizens of a state in whose internal affairs they have no right to interfere?....

If we would have a secure home, give up our endless life of wandering and rise to the dignity of a nation in our own eyes and in the eyes of the world, we must, above all, not dream of restoring ancient Judaea. We must not attach ourselves to the place where our political life was once violently interrupted and destroyed. The goal of our present endeavors must be not the "Holy Land," but a land of our own. We need nothing

but a large tract of land for our poor brothers, which shall remain our property and from which no foreign power can expel us. There we shall take with us the most sacred possessions which we have saved from the shipwreck of our former country, the *God-idea* and the *Bible*. It is these alone which have made our old fatherland the Holy Land, and not Jerusalem or the Jordan.

Perhaps the Holy Land will again become ours. If so, all the better, but *first of all*, we must determine—and this is the crucial point—what country is accessible to us, and at the same time adapted to offer the Jews of all lands who must leave their homes a secure and indisputed refuge, capable of productivization....

## 26

# Modern Anti-Semitism Defined (1878)

R I C H A R D   W A G N E R

The late nineteenth century—the age of imperialism, economic rivalry, extreme nationalism, and social Darwinism—was also the age in which modern anti-Semitism as a mass ideology emerged. Its adherents blamed Jews for virtually everything from economic problems facing small-scale businesses as the nefarious leaders of international capitalism to class conflicts as the leaders of the international socialist movement. Indeed, according to the more vitriolic anti-Semites, Jews were responsible for a decline of Western civilization (a remarkable assertion in light of the expansion of European wealth and overseas empires) brought on by Jewish rates of biological reproduction and “sinister” interbreeding with non-Jews. Richard Wagner (1813–1883), the gifted German composer, was also an anti-Semite. Wagner, echoing a popular theme among anti-Semites, identified modernity, which both traditional conservatives and anti-Semites despised, with Jews. In an editorial in the newspaper *Bayreuther Blätter*, Wagner defines his position.

### Questions to Consider

- Does Wagner define what he means by “modern”? What does this reveal?
- How does Wagner connect “modern” with the Jews?
- Why does Wagner harbor such distaste for Jews?

All of a sudden, there is “the modern world.” This does not apparently refer to the world of today, the time in which we live, or—as modern

German puts it so beautifully—“nowadays.” No, in the heads of our latest culture bearers, it signifies a world that has never yet existed, namely a “modern” world such as the world has never known at any time. Thus, a new world that previous worlds do not even approach and that therefore must be measured completely and arbitrarily according to its own standards. To the Jews,

Source: Richard Wagner, “Modern” in *Bayreuther Blätter* (March 1878), 59–63.



who, as a national entity, until half a century ago stood completely outside our cultural strivings, this present-day world, which they have entered so suddenly and which they appropriate to themselves with increasing force, this world must in fact seem a wholly new and hitherto nonexistent one....

It is extraordinary how difficult...[it] seems to be for Jews [to learn proper German, as opposed to Yiddish]. We may suppose that they went too hastily to work in appropriating what was too alien to them and that their unripe knowledge of our language, that is, their jargon, may have led them astray. It belongs to another discussion to illuminate the character of language falsification and what we owe to Jewish journalism for the intrusion of "the modern" into our cultural development. To elaborate further on the present theme, however, we must point out the weighty destiny under which our language had to labor for so long and how it took the most ingenious instincts of our greatest poets and sages to restore it to its productive character. And how this remarkable, linguistic-literary process of development was encountered by decadents who frivolously abandon the deadly seriousness of their predecessors and proclaim themselves "Moderns."...

For the Moderns to explain what we ought to think about this term "modern" is not so easy, especially if they concede that it is something quite lamentable and even dangerous, particularly to us Germans. We will

not suppose this because we are assuming that our Jewish fellow citizens mean well by us. Shall we, on this assumption, believe that they don't know what they are saying and only talk twaddle? It is useless here to trace the historical paths of the concept "modern," a term originally coined for the plastic arts of Italy to differentiate them from those of the classical age. It suffices that we have come to know the significance of "modishness" for the French national character. With an idiosyncratic pride, the Frenchman can call himself "modern," for he creates fashion and thereby dominates the external appearance of the entire world.

If, presently, the Jews, by dint of their "colossal efforts, in common with liberal Christians," are making us into articles of fashion, then let the God of their fathers reward them for "doing so well by us" poor German slaves of French fashion! For the time being, it still appears otherwise, however. For, in spite of all their power, they have no remedy for their lack of originality. And this applies particularly to the employment of that power that they insist none can deny them: "the power of the quill." They can deck themselves out with foreign feathers [quills], just as they can with the delicious names under which our new Jewish fellow citizens come to us—as surprising as they are enrapturing—and this while we poor old peasants and burghers have to satisfy ourselves forever with quite wretched names like "Schmidt," "Müller," "Weber," "Wagner," etc....

## 27

# *The Mayor of Vienna Connects Christianity to Anti-Semitism (1887)*

K A R L L U E G E R

The late nineteenth century—the age of imperialism, economic rivalry, extreme nationalism, and social Darwinism—was also the age in which modern anti-Semitism as a mass ideology emerged. Its adherents blamed Jews for virtually everything from economic problems facing small-scale businesses as the nefarious leaders of international capitalism to class conflicts as the leaders of the international socialist movement. Indeed, according to the more vitriolic anti-

Semites, Jews were responsible for a decline of Western civilization (a remarkable assertion in light of the expansion of European wealth and overseas empires) brought on by Jewish rates of biological reproduction and “sinister” interbreeding with non-Jews. In general, Jews were scapegoats for any and all evil. In the tottering Austro-Hungarian empire, with a large population of Jews, anti-Semitism was very strong. Karl Lueger (1844–1928), a one-time liberal, was the exceptionally popular mayor of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. His popularity was based on his broadcasting a message, such as the one excerpted here, of virulent anti-Semitism and what he termed Christian Socialism, a vague rubric that cloaked the desire to confiscate Jewish property. Lueger also pioneered in the tactics of modern mass politics: he organized mass rallies attended by tens of thousands; used violent, emotional, and repetitive rhetoric to communicate his message; and employed gangs of loyal followers to intimidate his opponents and their voters. One of the frequent attendees at Lueger’s rallies was a young, unemployed artist from northern Austria, Adolf Hitler (1889–1945). Hitler learned Lueger’s lessons well.

### Questions to Consider

- How does Lueger make the connection between anti-Semitism and Christianity?
- According to the introduction, why did Lueger decide to give an anti-Semitic speech? What does this reveal about Lueger?

**A**t this meeting the first speaker was the Hungarian anti-Semitic leader Dr. Komlossy, who was received with an ovation lasting several minutes, and, constantly interrupted by cries of assent, made a strongly anti-Semitic speech.... Lueger, as the second speaker, was meanwhile sitting near the chairman, Psenner, and asked him anxiously what he should speak on so as not to fall foul of Komlossy. Psenner’s advice was that he could become the hero of the evening only if he outdid Komlossy in his anti-Semitism. Lueger appreciated this at once and, amid storms of applause, made a speech which, as Psenner said, set the seal on his transformation from a Democrat into an anti-Semite....

(2) For my part, I like to ignore the small differences which might exist between one or other of the parties about the method of the struggle; I have very little regard for words and names, and much more for the cause. Whether Democrat or anti-Semite, the matter really comes to one and the same thing. The Democrats in their struggle against corruption come up against the Jews at every step, and the anti-Semites, if they want to carry out their economic programme, have to overcome not only the bad Jews but the bad Christians also....

All my party comrades share my opinion that it is the first duty of a Democrat to take the side of the poor, oppressed people and to even harmful domination of a small fraction of the population. To be sure, the Manchester-Liberal papers have the habit of describing a Democrat in somewhat different terms. They claim, for instance, that it would be the duty of such a Democrat to come forward as an enemy of the Christian religion, to mock and ridicule its believers and priests. But we know that the motive of such a manoeuvre is solely to mislead the people, which we may deduce from the remarkable fact that were anybody to come forward against the Jewish religion and ridicule its doctrines and believers he would be branded by the same organs as a reactionary obscurantist. However, this strange conception can be seen even more clearly in an economic question. Quite shamelessly the Liberal organs threaten the confiscation of the property of the Church and claim that the goods of the “dead hand” are harmful. By this means an attempt is made to divert the attention of the people from the property of the “living hand” which, in my view, harms the people in the most grievous way. But what a yell of rage would go up from the Liberal press if one were to substitute the slogan “confiscation of Church property” with the slogan “confiscation of the goods of the conscious, living hand!” He who would dare this would risk at once being portrayed as injuring the sacred rights of property, as an anarchist, a communist who wanted to subvert the social order and destroy all existing things. And now I ask: is the title of property of the conscious, living

---

Source: Peter P. J. Pelzer, *The Rise of Political Antisemitism in Germany and Austria* (New York: John Wiley, 1964), 169, 341–342.



hand stronger or more sacred than the title to the property of the Church? Surely not. And so it is more than extraordinary if one were to confiscate the property of

the comparatively poor priests and through this help the rich of another denomination to increase their wealth!

## 28

# *Women's Suffrage: An Englishwoman Says "No"* (1889)

M R S . H U M P H R E Y W A R D

In the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the women's movement emerged in Western Europe and the United States. In reality, there were two distinct and contradictory movements. On the one hand, middle-class women pushed for an enhancement of their civil rights, including the right to vote. On the other hand, female socialists typically subsumed the cause of working women's rights to the broader objectives of the establishment of a socialist society in which, by definition, the oppression of women would cease to be an issue. Notably, the leadership of the socialist parties was almost exclusively male. In the bourgeois suffrage movement, frustration at the unwillingness of male-dominated governments to consider reform resulted in a radicalization of the movement, which alienated some women. In this selection, Mrs. Humphrey Ward (1851–1920) outlines her opposition to the suffrage movement and her position on the proper place of women in society.

### Questions to Consider

- What are women's limitations, according to Ward?
- What is the proper societal role of women?

**W**e, the undersigned, wish to appeal to the common sense and the educated thought of men and women of England against the proposed extension of the Parliamentary suffrage to women.

While desiring the fullest possible development of the powers, energies, and education of women, we believe that their work for the State, and their responsibilities towards it, must always differ essentially from those of men, and that therefore their share in the working of the State machinery should be different from that assigned to men. Certain large departments of the national life are of necessity worked exclusively by men. To men belong the struggle of debate and legislation in Parliament; the working of the army and navy; all the

Source: Mrs. Humphrey Ward, "An Appeal Against Female Suffrage" in *The Nineteenth Century*, 148 (June 1889): 781–785.

heavy, laborious, fundamental industries of the State, such as those of mines, metals, and railways; the lead and supervision of English commerce, the service of that merchant fleet on which our food supply depends.

At the same time we are heartily in sympathy with all the recent efforts which have been made to give women a more important part in those affairs of the community where their interests and those of men are equally concerned; where it is possible for them not only to decide but to help in carrying out, and where, therefore, judgment is weighted by a true responsibility, and can be guided by experience and the practical information which comes from it. As voters for or members of School Boards, Boards of Guardians, and other important public bodies, women have now opportunities for public usefulness which must promote the growth of character, and at the same time strengthen among them the social sense and habit. But we believe that the emancipating process has now reached the limits fixed by the physical constitution of women, and by the fundamental difference which must always exist between their main occupations and those of men. The

care of the sick and the insane; the treatment of the poor; the education of children: in all these matters, and others besides, they have made good their claim to larger and more extended powers. We rejoice in it. But when it comes to questions of foreign or colonial policy, or of grave constitutional change, then we maintain that the necessary and normal experience of women does not and can never provide them with such materials for sound judgment as are open to men.

In conclusion: nothing can be further from our minds than to seek to depreciate the position or the importance of women. It is because we are keenly alive to the enormous value of their special contribution to the community, that we oppose what seems to us likely to endanger that contribution. We are convinced that the pursuit of a mere outward equality with men is for women not only vain but demoralizing. It leads to a total misconception of women's true dignity and special mission. It tends to personal struggle and rivalry, where the only effort of both the great divisions of the human family should be to contribute the characteristic labour and the best gifts of each to the common stock.

## 29

# *The Suffrage Movement Radicalized (ca. 1906–7)*

E M M E L I N E P A N K H U R S T

In the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the women's movement emerged in Western Europe and the United States. In reality, there were two distinct and contradictory movements. On the one hand, middle-class women pushed for an enhancement of their civil rights, including the right to vote. On the other hand, female socialists typically subsumed the cause of working women's rights to the broader objectives of the establishment of a socialist society in which, by definition, the oppression of women would cease to be an issue. Notably, the leadership of the socialist parties was almost exclusively male. In the bourgeois suffrage movement, frustration at the unwillingness of male-dominated governments to consider reform resulted in a radicalization of the movement, which alienated some women. In this excerpt from her memoirs, the radical British feminist Emmeline Pankhurst (1858–1928) describes a changed suffrage movement. The new tactics included acts of vandalism (breaking windows and arson), invading Parliament, and even such drastic measures as throwing themselves under oncoming carriages. Such radical tactics often evoked harsh repression.



### Questions to Consider

- By what criterion did the radical suffragists evaluate their tactics? How does this compare with other radical movements of the era?
- How can one explain the commitment which Pankhurst's memoirs describe?

The contention of the old-fashioned suffragists, and of the politicians as well, has always been that an educated public opinion will ultimately give votes to women without any great force being exerted in behalf of the reform... In the year 1906 there was an immensely large public opinion in favor of woman suffrage. But what good did that do the cause?

From the very first...we made the public aware of the woman suffrage movement as it had never been before.... We threw away all our conventional notions of

what was "ladylike" and "good form," and we applied to our methods the one test question, Will it help? Just as the [Salvation Army] took religion to the street crowds in such fashion that the church people were horrified, so we took suffrage to the general public in a manner that amazed and scandalised the other suffragists...

Women have concealed themselves for thirty-six hours in dangerous positions, under the platforms, in the organs, wherever they could get a vantage point. They waited starving in the cold, sometimes on the roof exposed to a winter's night, just to get a chance of saying in the course of a Cabinet Minister's speech, "When is the Liberal Government going to put its promises into practice?"

Source: Emmeline Pankhurst, *Mrs. Pankhurst's Own Story* (New York: Hearst's International Library, 1914), 61, 62, 235.

## 30

# A Socialist Solution to the Question of Women's Rights (1887)

C L A R A Z E T K I N

In the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the women's movement emerged in Western Europe and the United States. In reality, there were two distinct and contradictory movements. On the one hand, middle-class women pushed for an enhancement of their civil rights, including the right to vote. On the other hand, female socialists typically subsumed the cause of working women's rights to the broader objectives of the establishment of a socialist society in which, by definition, the oppression of women would cease to be an issue. Notably, the leadership of the socialist parties was almost exclusively male. In the bourgeois suffrage movement, frustration at the unwillingness of male-dominated governments to consider reform resulted in a radicalization of the movement, which alienated some women. Clara Zetkin (1867–1933) was a well-known figure in the German socialist movement. In this excerpt from her "Women's Work and the

Trade Unions," Zetkin identifies the key problem facing both women and men of the working classes.

### Questions to Consider

- What is the key problem, according to Zetkin?
- What is her solution?
- How does Zetkin's article support the contention that socialist women attached women's issues to the broader goals of the socialist movement?

It is not just the women workers who suffer because of the miserable payment of their labor. The male workers, too, suffer because of it. As a consequence of their low wages, the women are transformed from mere competitors into unfair competitors who push down the wages of men. Cheap women's labor eliminates the work of men and if the men want to continue to earn their daily bread, they must put up with low wages. Thus women's work is not only a cheap form of labor, it also cheapens the work of men and for that reason it is doubly appreciated by the capitalist, who craves profits. The economic advantages of the industrial activity of proletarian women only aid the tiny minority of the sacrosanct guild of coupon clippers and extortionists of profit.

Given the fact that many thousands of female workers are active in industry, it is vital for the trade unions

to incorporate them into their movement. In individual industries where female labor plays an important role, any movement advocating better wages, shorter working hours, etc., would be doomed from the start because of the attitude of those women workers who are not organized. Battles which begin propitiously enough, ended up in failure because the employers were able to play off non-union female workers against those that are organized in unions. These non-union workers continued to work (or took up work) under any conditions, which transformed them from competitors in dirty work to scabs.

Certainly one of the reasons for these poor wages for women is the circumstances that female workers are practically unorganized. They lack the strength which comes with unity. They lack the courage, the feeling of power, the spirit of resistance, and the ability to resist which is produced by the strength of an organization in which the individual fights for everybody and everybody fights for the individual. Furthermore, they lack the enlightenment and the training which an organization provides.

---

Source: Clara Zetkin, "Women's Work and the Trade Unions" in Philip S. Foner, ed., *Clara Zetkin, Selected Writings* (New York: International Publishers, 1984), 54–56.



## 31

# *The Narodnik Executive Committee Reveals the Rationale for Assassination (1881)*

## THE NARODNIK EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, Russia was awash in revolutionary movements. The backwardness of the economy, rigidity of the class structure, and autocratic government of the tsarist state created a very unstable and unpredictable environment. In the 1860s and 1870s, populists, under pressure from the tsarist police, went underground. Dreaming of building a just and progressive society, these revolutionaries believed the solution was to mobilize the Russian peasantry; thus, the “going to the people” (from which comes the term “narodnik,” *narod* being the Russian word for the people) was born. The narodniks were soon disillusioned with the results, as the peasants, ever suspicious of well-educated outsiders, refused to participate and even turned over many narodniks to the authorities. A new strategy was then adopted by a group of the narodniks: terrorism. Populist revolutionaries planted bombs and assassinated “enemies of the people,” including the Tsar-Liberator who had abolished serfdom, Alexander II (r. 1855–1881). In this open letter to his son and successor Alexander III (r. 1881–1894), the Executive Committee explains their action and presents their demands. Alexander III responded with increased repression.

### Questions to Consider

- How does the Executive Committee justify the assassination?
- What are their demands?
- What does this open letter reveal about the state of Russian society?

*Your Majesty:*

March 10, 1881

Although the Executive Committee understands fully the grief that you must experience at this moment,

---

Source: Letter of the Revolutionary Committee to Alexander III, in James Harvey Robinson and Charles Beard, eds., *Readings in Modern European History* (Boston: Ginn, 1909), 2:364–367.

it believes that it has no right to yield to the feeling of natural delicacy which would perhaps dictate the postponements of the following explanation to another time. There is something higher than the most legitimate human feeling, and that is, duty to one's country,—the duty for which a citizen must sacrifice himself and his own feelings, and even the feelings of others. In obedience to this all-powerful duty we have decided to address you at once, waiting for nothing, as will wait

for nothing the historical process that threatens us with rivers of blood and the most terrible convulsions....

You are aware, your Majesty, that the government of the late Tsar could not be reproached with the lack of energy. It hanged the innocent and the guilty, and filled prisons and remote provinces with exiles. Scores of so-called "leaders" were captured and hanged, and died with the courage and tranquillity of martyrs; but the movement did not cease,—on the contrary it grew and strengthened. The revolutionary movement, your Majesty, is not dependent upon any particular individuals; it is a process of the social organism; and the scaffolds raised for its more energetic exponents are as powerless to save the outgrown order of things as the cross that was erected for the Redeemer was powerless to save the ancient world from the triumph of Christianity. The government, of course, may yet capture and hang an immense number of separate individuals, it may break up a great number of separate revolutionary groups; but all this will not change, in the slightest degree, the condition of affairs....

A dispassionate glance at the grievous decade through which we have just passed will enable us to forecast accurately the future progress of the revolutionary movement, provided the policy of the government does not change. The movement will continue to grow and extend; deeds of a terroristic nature will increase in frequency and intensity. Meanwhile the number of the discontented in the country will grow larger and larger; confidence in the government, on the part of the people, will decline; and the idea of a revolution—of its possibility and inevitability—will establish itself in Russia more and more firmly. A terrible explosion, a bloody chaos, a revolutionary earthquake throughout Russia, will complete the destruction of the old order of things....

From such a state of affairs there can be only two modes of escape: either a revolution,—absolutely inevitable and not to be averted by any punishments; or a

voluntary turning of the supreme power to the people. In the interest of our native land, in the hope of preventing the useless waste of energy, in the hope of averting the terrible miseries that always accompany revolution, the Executive Committee approaches your Majesty with the advice to take the second course. Be assured, so soon as the supreme power ceases to rule arbitrarily, so soon as it firmly resolves to accede to the demands of the people's conscience and consciousness, you may, without fear, discharge the spies that disgrace the administration, send your guards back to their barracks, and burn the scaffolds that are demoralizing the people. The Executive Committee will voluntarily terminate its own existence, and the organizations formed about it will disperse, in order that their members may devote themselves to the work of promoting culture among the people of their native land....

We set no conditions for you; do not let our proposition irritate you. The conditions that are prerequisite to a change from revolutionary activity to peaceful labor are created, not by us, but by history. These conditions are, in our opinion, two.

1. A general amnesty to cover all past political crimes; for the reason that they were not crimes but fulfillments of civil duty.

2. The summoning of representatives of the whole Russian people to examine the existing framework of social and governmental life, and to remodel it in accordance with the people's wishes.

We regard it as necessary, however, to remind you that the legalization of the supreme power, by the representatives of the people, can be valid only in case the elections are perfectly free. We declare solemnly, before the people of our native land and before the whole world, that our party will submit unconditionally to the decisions of a National Assembly elected in the manner above indicated, and that we will not allow ourselves, in future, to offer violent resistance to any government that the National Assembly may sanction.



## 32

# What Is to Be Done *with* *Russia?* (1903)

V L A D I M I R I . L E N I N

As World War I (1914–1918) approached, the Russian Empire, still ruled by an absolutist regime that maintained itself by ruthless oppression, remained economically, socially, and politically backward compared to its European counterparts. The living and working conditions of the laboring poor, both the rural peasantry and the fledgling urban working class, were abysmal. As a result, Russia was fertile ground for revolutionary movements. The most committed, most revolutionary, and ultimately successful movement was the Russian socialist movement of Vladimir I. Lenin's (1870–1924) Bolshevik party. Lenin was a thoroughly committed revolutionary and a gifted, if acrobatic, Marxist theoretician. Rejecting the socialist revisionism then in favor in Western Europe—which had split the Russian Social Democratic Party into two wings, the Mensheviks (revisionists) and the Bolsheviks—Lenin remained an advocate of revolution. He modified Marxist theory with his argument that the socialist revolution could begin in a backward state such as Russia—the so-called “weakest link” argument; most Marxists maintained that the revolution had to begin in an advanced state with a large proletariat, such as Germany. In a corollary to the concept of the “weakest link,” Lenin also argued that revolutions are made by committed revolutionaries who know when and how to act; this was also a reinterpretation of Marxist theory, which stressed the role of the forces of historical materialism in the working of the dialect of revolution. In an echo of the Rousseauian general will, Lenin stated that the working class sometimes needed a dictator. In this selection, excerpted from his *What Is to Be Done?* (1903), Lenin describes the principles and practices of a proper revolutionary party. This text was one of the fundamental statements of Lenin's organizational theory and indicated the nature of the revolution he would later orchestrate and the regime he would establish.

## Questions to Consider

- According to Lenin, how is the revolutionary party to be organized?
- What does Lenin have to say about the “democratic principle”?
- Can one discern the roots of the totalitarian Soviet Union of Joseph Stalin in this work? Explain.

The history of the revolutionary movement is so little known among us that the name "Narodnaya Volya" [People's Will, the original populist revolutionary movement of the earlier generation] is used to denote any idea of a militant centralized organisation which declares determined war upon tsarism.... [N]o revolutionary trend, if it seriously thinks of struggle, can dispense with such an organization. The mistake the Narodnaya Volya committed was not in striving to enlist *all* the discontented in the organisation and to direct this organisation to resolute struggle against autocracy; on the contrary, that was its great historical merit. The mistake was in relying on a theory which in substance was not a revolutionary theory at all, and the Narodnaya Volya members either did not know how, or were unable, to link their movement inseparably with the class struggle in the developing capitalist society. Only a gross failure to understand Marxism...could prompt the opinion that the rise of a mass, spontaneous working-class movement *relieves* us of the duty of creating as good an organisation of revolutionaries as the Zemlya i Volya<sup>1</sup> had, or, indeed, an incomparably better one. On the contrary, this movement imposes the duty upon us; for the spontaneous struggle of the proletariat will not become its genuine "class struggle" until this struggle is led by a strong organisation of revolutionaries.

We have always protested, and will, of course, continue to protest against *confining* the political struggle to conspiracy. But this does not, of course, mean that we deny the need for a strong revolutionary organisation.... In *form* such a strong revolutionary organisation in an autocratic country may also be described as a "conspiratorial" organisation, because the French word *conspiration* is the equivalent of the Russian word *zagovor* ("conspiracy"), and such an organisation must have the utmost secrecy. Secrecy is such a necessary condition for this kind of organisation that all the other conditions (number and selection of members, functions, etc.) must be made to conform to it. It would be extremely naïve indeed, therefore, to fear the charge that we Social-Democrats desire to create a conspiratorial organisation....

The objection may be raised that such a powerful and strictly secret organisation, which concentrates in its hands all the threads of secret activities, an organisation which of necessity is centralised, may too easily

rush into a premature attack, may thoughtlessly intensify the movement before the growth of political discontent, the intensity of the ferment and anger of the working class, etc., have made such an attack possible and necessary. Our reply to this is: Speaking abstractly, it cannot be denied, of course, that a militant organisation *may* thoughtlessly engage in battle, which *may* end in defeat entirely avoidable under other conditions. But we cannot confine ourselves to abstract reasoning on such a question, because every battle bears within itself the abstract possibility of defeat, and there is no way of *reducing* this possibility except by organised preparation for battle. If, however, we proceed from the concrete conditions at present obtaining in Russia, we must come to the positive conclusion that a strong revolutionary organisation is absolutely necessary precisely for the purpose of giving stability to the movement and of safeguarding it against the possibility of making thoughtless attacks. Precisely at the present time, when no such organisation yet exists, and when the revolutionary movement is rapidly and spontaneously growing, we *already observe* two opposite extremes (which, as it is to be expected, "meet"). These are: the utterly unsound Economism [concentrating on gaining economic improvements for the workers] and the preaching of moderation, and the equally unsound "excitative terror" which strives "artificially to call forth symptoms of the end of the movement, which is developing and strengthening itself, when this movement is as yet nearer to the start than the end..."<sup>2</sup>

Only a centralised, militant organisation that consistently carries out a Social-Democratic policy, that satisfies, so to speak, all revolutionary instincts and strivings, can safeguard the movement against making thoughtless attacks and prepare attacks that hold out the promise of success.

A further objection may be raised, that the views on organisation here expounded contradict the "democratic principle"...

...For the present, we shall examine more closely the "principle" that the Economists advance. Everyone will probably agree that "the broad democratic principle" presupposes the two following conditions: first, full publicity, and secondly, election to all offices. It would be absurd to speak of democracy without publicity, moreover, without a publicity that is not limited to the membership of the organisation. We call the German Socialist Party a democratic organisation because all its activities are carried out publicly; even its party congresses are held in public. But no one would call an or-

Source: Vladimir I. Lenin, *What Is to Be Done?* in Robert C. Tucker, ed. and trans., *The Lenin Anthology* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), 85–89.

<sup>1</sup> Land and Freedom, the most militant of the (Populist) revolutionary groups that arose out of Narodnaya Volya before 1881

<sup>2</sup> Lenin here is quoting the veteran populist revolutionary Vera Zasulich.



ganisation democratic that is hidden from every one but its members by a veil of secrecy. What is the use, then, of advancing "the *broad* democratic principle" when the fundamental condition for this principle *cannot be fulfilled* by a secret organisation? "The broad principle" proves itself simply to be a resounding but hollow phrase. Moreover, it reveals a total lack of understanding of the urgent tasks of the moment in regard to organisation. Everyone knows how great the lack of secrecy is among the "broad" masses of our revolutionaries. We have heard the bitter complaints of B—v on this score and his absolutely just demand for a "strict selection of members" (*Rabocheye Dyelo*, No. 6, p. 42). Yet, persons who boast a keen "sense of realities" *urge*, in a situation like this, not the strictest secrecy and the strictest (consequently, more restricted) selection of members, but "the *broad* democratic principle"! This is what you call being wide of the mark.

Nor is the situation any better with regard to the second attribute of democracy, the principle of election. In politically free countries [Lenin cites Germany as an example], this condition is taken for granted....

Try to fit this picture into the frame of our autocracy! Is it conceivable in Russia for all "who accept the principles of the Party programme and render the Party all

possible support" to control every action of the revolutionary working in secret? Is it possible for all to elect one of these revolutionaries to any particular office, when, in the very interests of the work, the revolutionary *must* conceal his identity from nine out of ten of these "all"? Reflect somewhat over the real meaning of the high-sounding phrases [about democracy]...and you will realise that "broad democracy" in Party organisation, amidst the gloom of the autocracy and the domination of gendarmerie, is nothing more than a *useless and harmful toy*. It is a *useless* toy because, in point of fact, no revolutionary organisation has ever practised, or could practise, *broad* democracy, however much it may have desired to do so. It is a harmful toy because any attempt to practise "the broad democratic principle" will simply facilitate the work of the police in carrying out large-scale raids, will perpetuate the prevailing primitiveness, and will divert the thoughts of the practical workers from the serious and pressing task of training themselves to become professional revolutionaries to that of drawing up detailed "paper" rules for election systems. Only abroad, where very often people with no opportunity for conducting really active work gather, could this "playing at democracy" develop here and there, especially in small groups....

## 33

# *European Imperialism in Africa: A Veteran Explains the Rules of the Game (1909)*

S I R H E N R Y S T A N L E Y

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the European powers divided up the African continent among themselves, a process that came to be known as the "Scramble for Africa." In many ways, European imperialism resulted from Otto von Bismarck's (1815–1898) iron-fisted diplomacy, which maintained peace and stability in European affairs until his abrupt dismissal in 1890. Territorial aggrandizement was thus no longer possible on the Continent. As the European states pursued their territorial ambitions overseas, most Europeans believed that imperial expansion was the logical, even inevitable, outcome of the economic and technological progress they had witnessed in the previous

decades. The relative ease with which overseas empires were acquired or enlarged greatly enhanced European feelings of superiority, even a racial superiority, which social Darwinists loudly trumpeted. The "Scramble for Africa," despite the obvious negative consequences, fired the imaginations of Europeans with its stories of bravery, daring feats, and exotic places. One of the most colorful individuals of the era was the Welsh-American adventurer-explorer-journalist Henry M. Stanley (1841–1904). In the 1870s, Stanley made several well-publicized and heavily armed expeditions throughout central Africa. It was on one of these that he found another explorer, a philanthropical missionary and doctor who had been missing. According to Stanley's newspaper account, he greeted the lost missionary with the words: "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?" The phrase soon entered the popular lexicon and enjoyed widespread usage. In 1879, Stanley was hired by the Belgian king Leopold II (r. 1865–1909), an ardent imperialist, to establish ties with the tribes along the Congo River with the aim of imposing Belgian control over central Africa. Stanley, with his typically well-armed expedition, had soon signed treaties with many African chiefs along the left bank of the river, which put their tribes under the "protection" of Belgium. The extension of Belgian control in the Congo, which was soon matched by the French who set up protectorates on the right bank of the river, helped sparked the "Scramble for Africa." Indeed, the tension between Belgium and France over the Congo threatened to cause war. At this juncture, Bismarck stepped in, convening the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885 to set the rules for the "Great Game." In this excerpt from his autobiography, edited and published posthumously in 1909, Stanley summarizes his formula for success in Africa.

### Questions to Consider

- What is Stanley's attitude toward Africans?
- What advice does Stanley offer Europeans who go to Africa?

Some explorers say: "One must not run through a country, but give the people time to become acquainted with you, and let their worst fears subside."

Now on the expedition across Africa I had no time to give, either to myself or to them. The river bore my heavy canoes downward; my goods would never have endured the dawdling requirement by the system of teaching every tribe I met who I was. To save myself and my men from certain starvation, I had to rush on and on, right through. But on this expedition, the very necessity of making roads to haul my enormous six-ton wagons gave time for my reputation to travel ahead of me. My name, purpose, and liberal rewards for native help, naturally exaggerated, prepared a welcome for me, and transformed my enemies of the old time into

workmen, friendly allies, strong porters, and firm friends. I was greatly forbearing also; but, when a fight was inevitable, through open violence, it was sharp and decisive. Consequently, the natives rapidly learned that though everything was to be gained by friendship with me, wars brought nothing but ruin.

When a young white officer quits England for the first time, to lead blacks, he has got to learn to unlearn a great deal. We *must* have white men in Africa; but the raw white is a great nuisance there during the first year. In the second year, he begins to mend; during the third year, if his nature permits it, he has developed into a superior man, whose intelligence may be of transcendent utility for directing masses of inferior men.

My officers were possessed with the notion that my manner was "hard," because I had not many compliments for them. That is the kind of pap which we may offer women and boys. Besides, I thought they were superior natures, and required none of that encouragement, which the more childish blacks almost daily received.

---

Source: Henry Morgan Stanley, *Autobiography*, Dorothy Stanley, ed. (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1909), 342–343.



## 34

# *An Indian Nationalist Condemns the British Empire (1920)*

S A R O J I N I N A I D U

The colonial empires of both Great Britain and France proved to be invaluable resources during World War I (1914–1918), supplying food, raw materials, and soldiers to the war effort. Many Asian and African nationalists believed that their wartime contributions would result in some change of status for their colonized homeland, but they were sadly mistaken as both European powers realized the strategic roles their overseas empires played. Many more Asians and Africans had seen Europeans killing each other and doing it, according to the propaganda, for the values of Western civilization such as democracy, and individual and national freedom. Not only was the myth of Western invulnerability shattered, but the hypocrisy of the imperial powers was clearly revealed. Thus the interwar years saw a burgeoning of national liberation movements throughout the colonial empires. Some Asian and African leaders stressed nationalism, even citing Woodrow Wilson's (1856–1924) self-determination concept of the Fourteen Points, while others borrowed tactics and ideology from Vladimir Lenin's (1870–1924) Bolsheviks, a trend that especially alarmed Western leaders. In this selection, excerpted from a speech by the Indian nationalist and feminist Sarojini Naidu, the rage of the colonized world is palpable.

## Questions to Consider

- What does Naidu accuse the British of?
- How does Naidu use Western values to attack British rule in India?

**I** speak to you today as standing arraigned because of the blood-guiltiness of those who have committed murder in my country. I need not go into the details. But I am going to speak to you as a woman about the

wrongs committed against my sisters. Englishmen, you who pride yourselves upon your chivalry, you who hold more precious than your imperial treasures the honour and chastity of your women, will you sit still and leave unavenged the dishonour, and the insult and agony inflicted upon the veiled women of the Punjab?

The minions of Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, and his martial authorities rent the veil from the faces of the women of the Punjab. Not only were men mown down

Source: Sarojini Naidu, Speech, "The Agony and Shame of the Punjab," in *Padmini Sengupta, Sarojini Naidu: A Biography* (London: Asia Publishing House, 1966), 161–162.

as if they were grass that is born to wither; but they tore asunder the cherished *Purdah*,<sup>1</sup> that innermost privacy of the chaste womanhood of India. My sisters were stripped naked, they were flogged, they were outraged. These policies left your British democracy betrayed,

<sup>1</sup> A practice in which Indian women screen themselves from view through special clothing such as veils and special enclosures in buildings

dishonored, for no dishonor clings to the martyrs who suffered, but to the tyrants who inflicted the tyranny and pain. Should they hold their Empire by dishonoring the women of another nation or lose it out of chivalry for their honor and chastity? The Bible asked, "What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" You deserve no Empire. You have lost your soul; you have the stain of blood-guiltiness upon you; no nation that rules by tyranny is free; it is the slave of its own despotism.

## 35

# *Population Growth in Western and Central Europe (1871–1911)*

## V A R I O U S   G O V E R N M E N T S

At the end of the nineteenth century, many in Western Europe began to express concern with demographic trends; some even considered these trends a crisis, especially in France. Ardent nationalists, government leaders, and military planners were concerned that these trends would result in too few available recruits for the increasingly gargantuan armies. Social Darwinists contemplated sourly the decline in national "virility." This was an ironic turn of events, as earlier in the century, liberals, under the influence of Thomas Malthus's (1766–1834) theories on population, had maintained that working-class poverty resulted from the unrestrained reproduction of the poor. There were many contributing factors to this demographic trend of slow population growth: people marrying at a later age; families having fewer children; and women pursuing alternative lifestyles to that of wife and mother. Some governments responded with positive programs promoting population growth (in France, for example, the natalism movement was broad-based, enjoying the support of government, the Catholic Church, and many in the medical profession); all were concerned. This selection presents the population growth in the German Empire, Austria-Hungary, France, Italy, Spain, and the United Kingdom (Great Britain) from the unification of Germany (1871) to the eve of World War I (1911).

### Questions to Consider

- Given the general demographic trends of Western Europe, how can one explain the population growth of Britain?
- Compare French population growth with that of the two Germanic powers. Why were the French alarmed by their lack of population growth?



### Population Trends, 1871–1911

	c. 1871	c. 1911	% increase
	(000,000)	(000,000)	
German Empire	41.1	64.9	57.8
France	36.1	39.6	9.7
Austria-Hungary*	35.8	49.5	38.3
United Kingdom	31.8	45.4	42.8
Italy	26.8	34.7	29.5
Spain	16.0	19.2	20.0

\*Not including Bosnia-Herzegovina

Source: M. Huber, *La Population de la France Pendant la Guerre* (Paris: P. U. F., 1931), 7.

## 36

# *A French Response to the Demographic Crisis: Bonuses for Babies (1913)*

F R E N C H   N A T I O N A L  
A S S E M B L Y

At the end of the nineteenth century, many in Western Europe began to express concern with demographic trends; some even considered these trends a crisis, especially in France. Ardent nationalists, government leaders, and military planners were concerned that these trends would result in too few available recruits for the increasingly gargantuan armies. Social Darwinists contemplated sourly the decline in national "virility." This was an ironic turn of events, as earlier in the century, liberals, under the influence of Thomas Malthus's (1766–1834) theories on population, had maintained that working-class poverty resulted from the unrestrained reproduction of the poor. There were many contributing factors to this demographic trend of slow population growth: people marrying at a later age; families having fewer children; and women pursuing alternative lifestyles to that of wife and mother. Some governments responded with positive programs promoting population growth (in France, for example, the natalism movement was broad-based, enjoying the support of government, the Catholic Church, and

many in the medical profession); all were concerned. Finally, in 1913, the French natalism movement bore fruit. The French law of 14 July 1913 (Bastille Day), presented in this document, is an example of the concern that population trends generated. The law also had wider and long-lasting implications.

### Questions to Consider

- What was the motivation behind the legislation?
- What is the unspoken and long-term implication of Article 2?

*Article 1*—For large families allowances are a compulsory service for all *départements*, with the participation of the communes and the State.

*Article 2*—Every head of a family of French nationality, who is responsible for more than three legitimate or acknowledged children and whose resources are insuf-

ficient for their upbringing, receives an annual allowance for each child under thirteen years of age, after the third child under thirteen years of age.

*Article 3*—The rate of allowance is determined for each commune by the municipal council, subject to the approval of the General Council and the Minister of the Interior.

It may not be less than 60 francs per year per child, and not more than 90 francs; if the allowance exceeds 90 francs, the difference is the exclusive responsibility of the commune.

---

Source: Law of July 14, 1913, in David Thompson, ed., *France: Empire and Republic, 1850–1940* (New York: Walker and Co., 1968), 285.

## 37

# *The World of the Trenches: A Deadly Life (1915)*

A L F O N S   A N K E N B R A N D

Despite all the war plans and diplomatic alliances, the dreams and fears of statesmen, and the ranting of nationalists, when World War I (1914–1918) broke out in early August 1914, it was the average man who was mobilized and went to the front to do his duty. Of course many went with enthusiasm, and many more expected to return home, victorious, by Christmas. Four years and nearly ten million dead later, the war finally ended. After the initial thrust of the Schlieffen Plan had failed, stopped at the First Battle of the Marne (5–12 September 1914), both sides dug in, creating an elaborate and nearly unbroken trench system from the Alps to the English Channel. It was these trenches and the slaughter that took place over the paltry few square miles they encompassed that provided the most familiar imagery of the Great War. The mud, filth, snipers, shelling, and no man's land are all well known. At least the trenches offered some protection. When a soldier learned he was to take part in an offensive, "to go over the top," he would frequently compose a last letter home, certain of his impending death. All too



often, he was right. In this selection, a young German soldier's last letter home, the futility and bravery of these young men is eloquently conveyed.

### Questions to Consider

- How does the young soldier describe his unit's new position and the casualties which they had suffered?
- What was the reality of the "heroes' graves"? What was the reality of modern warfare in general?
- How does this young soldier compose himself for his brief future?

Souchez, March 11th, 1915

"So fare you well, for we must now be parting," so run the first lines of a soldier-song which we often sang through the streets of the capital. These words are truer than ever now, and these lines are to bid farewell to you, to all my nearest and dearest, to all who wish me well or ill, and to all that I value and prize.

Our regiment has been transferred to this dangerous spot, Souchez. No end of blood has already flowed down this hill. A week ago the 142nd attacked and took four trenches from the French. It is to hold these trenches that we have been brought here. There is something uncanny about this hill-position. Already, times without number, other battalions of our regiment have been ordered here in support, and each time the company came back with a loss of twenty, thirty or more men. In the days when we had to stick it out here before, we had 22 killed and 27 wounded. Shells roar, bullets whistle; no dug-outs, or very bad ones; mud, clay, filth, shell-holes so deep that one could bathe in them.

This letter has been interrupted no end of times. Shells began to pitch close to us—great English 12-inch

ones—and we had to take refuge in a cellar. One such shell struck the next house and buried four men, who were got out from the ruins horribly mutilated. I saw them and it was ghastly!

Everybody must be prepared now for death in some form or other. Two cemeteries have been made up here, the losses have been so great. I ought not to write that to you, but I do so all the same, because the newspapers have probably given you quite a different impression. They tell only of our gains and say nothing about the blood that has been shed, of the cries of agony that never cease. The newspaper doesn't give any description either of *how* the "heroes" are laid to rest, though it talks about "heroes' graves" and writes poems and such-like about them. Certainly in Lens I have attended funeral-parades where a number of dead were buried in one large grave with pomp and circumstance. But up here it is pitiful the way one throws the dead bodies out of the trench and lets them lie there, or scatters dirt over the remains of those which have been torn to pieces by shells.

I look upon death and call upon life. I have not accomplished much in my short life, which has been chiefly occupied with study. I have commended my soul to the Lord God. It bears His seal and is altogether His. Now I am free to dare anything. My future life belongs to God, my present one to the Fatherland, and I myself still possess happiness and strength.

---

Source: Alfons Ankenbrand in *German Students' War Letters*, A. F. Wedd, ed. (London: Methuen, 1929), 72–73.

## *A British Feminist Analyzes the Impact of the War on Women (1916)*

H E L E N A   S W A N W I C K

When World War I (1914–1918) stubbornly refused to end by Christmas 1914, the war machines on both sides began their insatiable demand for young men to fight and die. By the end of the war almost 70 million men had been mobilized by the main combatants. Such colossal demand for young men, and the material needed to equip the armies, resulted in a significant transformation of what came to be known as the “home front.” Both Allied and Central Powers governments geared up to fight the total war. The mobilization of the economy to produce for the war effort, which featured a high degree of government direction in Great Britain and Germany especially, required a ready replacement for the workers shipped off to fight. The new labor source was, of course, women. Typically, highly skilled workers, such as machinists, were deemed too valuable to the war effort to be squandered in the mud of Flanders or the Verdun salient. But there were plenty of openings for unskilled and semiskilled workers in the factories, for literate workers in offices (government and private), and for hundreds of positions such as bus drivers and ticket collectors. Female workers rushed in to fill these openings, out of both patriotic duty and personal need. Just as significantly, many more women than ever before were, in essence, completely independent from male control; this period of independence would have profound influence in the years to come. In 1916, in the midst of these changes in Britain, the feminist Helena Swanwick analyzed the impact of the war on women in her essay “The War in Its Effect upon Women.”

### **Questions to Consider**

- How does Swanwick analyze the postwar “readjustment of employment”? How accurate was her prediction?
- How does Swanwick suggest handling the “readjustment of employment”?
- How does Swanwick justify her demand for enfranchisement of women? Is her argument convincing?



How has the war affected women? How will it affect them? Women, as half the human race, are compelled to take their share of evil and good with men, the other half. The destruction of property, the increase of taxation, the rise of prices, the devastation of beautiful things in nature and art—these are felt by men as well as by women. Some losses doubtless appeal to one or the other sex with peculiar poignancy, but it would be difficult to say whose sufferings are the greater, though there can be no doubt at all that men get an exhilaration out of war which is denied to most women. When they see pictures of soldiers encamped in the ruins of what was once a home, amidst the dead bodies of gentle milch cows, most women would be thinking too insistently of the babies who must die for need of milk to entertain the exhilaration which no doubt may be felt at “the good work of our guns.” When they read of miles upon miles of kindly earth made barren, the hearts of men may be wrung to think of wasted toil, but to women the thought suggests a simile full of an even deeper pathos; they will think of the millions of young lives destroyed, each one having cost the travail and care of a mother, and of the millions of young bodies made barren by the premature death of those who should have been their mates. The millions of widowed maidens in the coming generation will have to turn their thoughts away from one particular joy and fulfilment of life. While men in war give what is, at the present stage of the world’s development, the peculiar service of men, let them not forget that in rendering that very service they are depriving a corresponding number of women of the opportunity of rendering what must, at all stages of the world’s development, be the peculiar service of women. After the war, men will go on doing what has been regarded as men’s work; women, deprived of their own, will also have to do much of what has been regarded as men’s work. These things are going to affect women profoundly, and one hopes that the reconstruction of society is going to be met by the whole people—men and women—with a sympathetic understanding of each other’s circumstances. When what are known as men’s questions are discussed, it is generally assumed that the settlement of them depends upon men only; when what are known as women’s questions are discussed, there is never any suggestion that they can be settled by women independently of men. Of course they cannot. But, then, neither can “men’s questions” be rightly settled so. In

fact, life would be far more truly envisaged if we dropped the silly phrases “men’s and women’s questions”; for, indeed, there are no such matters, and all human questions affect all humanity.

Now, for the right consideration of human questions, it is necessary for humans to understand each other. This catastrophic war will do one good thing if it opens our eyes to real live women as they are, as we know them in workaday life, but as the politician and the journalist seem not to have known them. When war broke out, a Labour newspaper, in the midst of the news of men’s activities, found space to say that women would feel the pinch, because their supply of attar of roses would be curtailed. It struck some women like a blow in the face. When a great naval engagement took place, the front page of a progressive daily was taken up with portraits of the officers and men who had won distinction, and the back page with portraits of simpering mannequins in extravagantly fashionable hats; not frank advertisement, mind you, but exploitation of women under the guise of news supposed to be peculiarly interesting to the feeble-minded creatures. When a snapshot was published of the first women ticket collectors in England, the legend underneath the picture ran “Super-women”! It took the life and death of Edith Cavell<sup>1</sup> to open the eyes of the Prime Minister to the fact that there were thousands of women giving life and service to their country. “A year ago we did not know it,” he said, in the House of Commons. Is that indeed so? Surely in our private capacities as ordinary citizens, we knew not only of the women whose portraits are in the picture papers (mostly pretty ladies of the music hall or of society), but also of the toiling millions upon whose courage and ability and endurance and goodness of heart the great human family rests. Only the politicians did not know, because their thoughts were too much engrossed with faction fights to think humanly; only the journalists would not write of them, because there was more money in writing the columns which are demanded by the advertisers of feminine luxuries. Anyone who has conducted a woman’s paper knows the steady commercial pressure for that sort of “copy.”...

### The Need for Production

It is often forgotten that for full prosperity a country needs to be producing as much wealth as possible, consistently with the health, freedom, and happiness of its people. To arrive at this desired result, it is quite clear that as many people as possible should be employed

Source: Excerpt from Helena Swanwick, “The War in Its Effect upon Women,” in Marilyn Shevin-Coetzee and Frans Coetzee, eds., *World War I and European Society* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1995), 160–164, 166.

<sup>1</sup> A British nurse executed by the Germans as an alleged spy



productively, and it is one of the unhappy results of our economic anarchy that employers have found it profitable to have a large reserve class of unemployed and that wage-earners have been driven to try and diminish their own numbers and to restrict their own output. To keep women out of the "labour market" (by artificial restrictions, such as the refusal to work with them, or the refusal to allow them to be trained, or the refusal to adapt conditions to their health requirements) is in truth anti-social. But it is easy to see how such anti-social restrictions have been forced upon the workers, and it is futile to blame them. A way must be found out of industrial war before we can hope that industry will be carried on thriftily. Men and women must take counsel together and let the experience of the war teach them how to solve economic problems by co-operation rather than conflict. Women have been increasingly conscious of the satisfaction to be got from economic independence, of the sweetness of earned bread, of the dreary depression of subjection. They have felt the bitterness of being "kept out"; they are feeling the exhilaration of being "brought in." They are ripe for instruction and organisation in working for the good of the whole....

### Readjustment of Employment

Most people were astonished in 1914 at the rapidity with which industry and social conditions adapted themselves to the state of war, and there are those who argue that, because the fears of very widespread and continued misery at the outbreak of the war were not justified, we need not have any anxiety about any widespread and continued misery at the establishment of peace. Certainly depression or panic are worse than useless, and a serene and cheerful heart will help to carry the nation beyond difficulties. But comfortable people must beware of seeming to bear the sorrows of others with cheerfulness, and a lack of preparation for easily foreseen contingencies will not be forgiven by those who suffer from carelessness or procrastination. We know quite well what some, at least, of our problems are going to be, and the fool's paradise would lead straight to revolution.

It would be wise to remember that the dislocation of industry at the outbreak of the war was easily met; first, because the people thrown out by the cessation of one sort of work were easily absorbed by the increase of another sort; second, because there was ample capital and credit in hand; third, because the State was prepared to shoulder many risks and to guarantee stability; fourth, because there was an untapped reservoir of women's labour to take the place of men's. The problems after the war will be different, greater, and more lasting....

Because it will obviously be impossible for all to find work quickly (not to speak of the right kind of work), there is almost certain to be an outcry for the restriction of work in various directions, and one of the first cries (if we may judge from the past) will be to women: "Back to the Home!" This cry will be raised whether the women have a home or not.... We must understand the unimpeachable right of the man who has lost his work and risked his life for his country, to find decent employment, decent wages and conditions, on his return to civil life. We must also understand the enlargement and enhancement of life which women feel when they are able to live by their own productive work, and we must realise that to deprive women of the right to live by their work is to send them back to a moral imprisonment (to say nothing of physical and intellectual starvation), of which they have become now for the first time fully conscious. And we must realise the exceeding danger that conscienceless employers may regard women's labour as preferable, owing to its cheapness and its docility, and that women, if unsympathetically treated by their male relatives and fellow workers, may be tempted to continue to be cheap and docile in the hands of those who have no desire except that of exploiting them and the community. The kind of man who likes "to keep women in their place" may find he has made slaves who will be used by his enemies against him. Men need have no fear of free women; it is the slaves and the parasites who are a deadly danger.

The demand for equal wage for equal work has been hotly pressed by men since the war began, and it is all to the good so far as it goes. But most men are still far from realising the solidarity of their interests with those of women in all departments of life, and are still too placidly accepting the fact that women are sweated over work which is not the same as that of men. They don't realise yet that starved womanhood means starved manhood, and they don't enough appreciate the rousing and infectious character of a generous attitude on the part of men, who, in fighting the women's battles unselfishly and from a love of right, would stimulate the women to corresponding generosity. There are no comrades more staunch and loyal than women, where men have engaged their truth and courage. But men must treat them as comrades; they must no longer think only of how they can "eliminate female labour"; they must take the women into their trade unions and other organisations, and they must understand that the complexities of a woman's life are not of her invention or choosing, but are due to her function as mother of men.

The sexual side of a woman's life gravely affects the economic side, and we can never afford to overlook this. As mothers and home-makers women are doing work of the highest national importance and economic



value, but this value is one which returns to the nation as a whole and only in small and very uncertain part to the women themselves. The fact that a woman is a wife and mother diminishes her value in the "labour market," and even the fact that she is liable to become a wife and mother has done so in the past. Unless men are prepared to socialise the responsibilities of parenthood, one does not see how women's labour is ever to be organized for the welfare of the whole, nor does one see how women are to perform their priceless functions of motherhood as well as possible if they are to be penalised for them in the future as they have been in the past....

### Enfranchisement and Emancipation

The course and conduct of the war, throwing upon women greater and greater responsibilities, bringing home to them how intimately their own lives and all they hold dear and sacred are affected by the government of the country, will tend greatly to strengthen and enlarge their claim for a share in the government. The growth of what was known as "militancy," in the last few years of the British suffrage movement, was the disastrous result of the long denial of justice, the acrid fruit of government which had become coercion, because it was no longer by consent. Now that, for two years past, the women of Great Britain have made com-

mon cause with their men in this time of stress, the heat of the internal conflict has died down, and one hears on all sides that prominent anti-suffragists have become ardent suffragists, while others have declared their resolve at any rate never again to *oppose* the enfranchisement of women. The battle of argument was won long ago, but we are not, as a people, much given to theory; custom has a very strong hold over us. The shock of war has loosened that hold, and now almost every one who used to oppose, when asked whether women should be given votes, would reply: "Why not? They have earned them!" I cannot admit that representation is a thing that people should be called upon to "earn," nor that, if essential contribution to the nation is to count as "earning," the women have not earned the vote for just as long as the men....

What the war has put in a fresh light, so that even the dullest can see, is that if the State may claim women's lives and those of their sons and husbands and lovers, if it may absorb all private and individual life, as at present, then indeed the condition of those who have no voice in the State is a condition of slavery, and Englishmen don't feel quite happy at the thought that their women are still slaves, while their Government is saying they are waging a war of liberation. Many women had long ago become acutely aware of their ignominious position, but the jolt of the war has made many more aware of it.

## 39

# *The Bolshevik Seizure of Power at the Local Level (1917)*

A L E X I S   B A B I N E

When Vladimir I. Lenin (1870–1924) returned to Russia in April 1917 from his exile in Switzerland, aided by the German army, his Bolshevik party was a small fringe element in the political chaos of Petrograd, the capital. The Bolsheviks had scant representation and power in the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the spontaneously generated assembly that had arisen during the February Revolution that had toppled the tsarist regime. The Bolsheviks had few

followers among the workers and soldiers of the capital and none to speak of among the vast Russian peasantry. Official power had passed to the Provisional Government, which was originally dominated by liberals and later included moderate socialists. The Bolsheviks were virtually invisible. From this humble base, Lenin would build his power and eventually seize control. The ultimate success of Lenin's Bolsheviks in November 1917 can be attributed in no small part to the mistakes of the Provisional Government: continuation of the war effort; failure to accept the peasantry's spontaneous confiscation and redistribution of great landed estates; and insistence on democratic and liberal policies in the face of implacable, revolutionary enemies. On the other hand, one cannot ignore the inspired leadership of Lenin and his top lieutenant Leon Trotsky (1879–1940) as an important factor in the Bolshevik victory. The Bolsheviks finally overthrew the Provisional Government on 6–7 November 1917 (24–25 October on the old Russian calendar), after a failed coup attempt in July and short-lived repression by the Provisional Government. Unfortunately for the Provisional Government, an abortive right-wing coup had then sent them into the arms of the Bolsheviks; the Provisional Government appealed to them for help and armed many workers and soldiers who by late summer had begun to support the Bolsheviks. Trotsky, by then president of the Petrograd Soviet, used his brilliant oratorical abilities and promises of a brighter future and denunciations of the crimes of the bourgeois Provisional Government to draw these men, and many women, into the Bolshevik camp. In a near bloodless coup, the Bolsheviks took over and in December 1917 disbanded (at gunpoint) the newly elected constituent assembly, which was embarrassingly short on Bolshevik delegates—a hint of the political style of Lenin and his party. While the events in Petrograd are familiar, the Bolshevik takeover in the countryside was less well documented. In this selection, excerpted from the diary of Alexis Babine, a liberal-minded doctor and university professor in Saratov, a provincial city southeast of Moscow, the Bolshevik seizure of power at the local level is illustrated.

### Questions to Consider

- What does Babine's diary reveal about the popularity and viability of the Provisional Government by fall 1917?
- How does Babine characterize the supporters of the Bolsheviks?
- Does this diary indicate the future of the Russian bourgeoisie? How?

October 27, 1917. An appeal has been published in the local papers to all good citizens to resist the expected Bolshevik attempt to overthrow the existing government in Saratov. Owing to the unpopularity of Kerensky and his rule and to the physical and moral flabbiness of our Christian citizens, only 150 persons are said to have answered the call to defend the city and to have entrenched themselves in the city duma building.

October 28, 1917. Some patriot has written on one of the macadam sidewalks of the Linden Park in chalk:

"Down with the Jew Kerensky." It is rumored that the soldiers are planning a Jewish pogrom. Last night and the night before, crowds were gathering around the newsstands awaiting and discussing the latest telegrams. The crowds behaved in an orderly way. This morning streets were full of dirty-looking workers armed with foreign muskets, and of armed soldiers. Soldiers are as opposed to Kerensky as they are to a new monarch. My landlady's lawyer reports that all city banks are closed. She sent her jewelry and other valuables to some poor relations of hers for safekeeping. As a local millionaire, she fears an attack from the Bolshevik mob. She has no weapons and hardly a decent hatchet in the house. The front door was locked for the day, and an order has been given to the janitor to keep the iron yard gate securely barred. In case of need

---

Source: Donald J. Raleigh, ed. and trans., *A Russian Civil War Diary: Alexis Babine in Saratov, 1917–1922* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1988), 22–24, 30, 36.



the house could make a good fortress and be defended against any number of the common rabble by spirited, well-armed inhabitants....

November 15, 1917. The Soviet's general and indiscriminate amnesty of all political and criminal prisoners, with all jails thrown open and court records burned, has filled the country with dangerous elements. The younger and the more enterprising jailbirds immediately after their liberation joined the Communist party. In many cases they were given responsible administrative positions and furnished the Bolsheviks with the fittest possible material for fighting and exterminating the enemies of the party, i.e., all idle and flabby lovers of law and order.

December 17, 1917. A peaceful demonstration was announced yesterday by various city and private organizations in favor of the Constituent Assembly, to take place today. The Bolsheviks replied by sponsoring an armed demonstration, turning out all their artillery and infantry, which have just defiled past our house, carrying red flags with the usual inscriptions and howling revolutionary songs as far as today's bitter cold allowed. Many ugly faces turned up toward the upper story of our house. One armed scoundrel shook his fist at the spectators at a window, and another made a show of slipping in a cartridge, with a suggestive gesture.

The peaceful demonstration, under the circumstances, was indefinitely postponed.

## 40

# *Collectivization in the Soviet Union: A Peasant's Report (1930)*

I V A N T R O F I M O V I C H  
C H U Y U N K O V

Once Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) had dispensed with his enemies on the right and left on the Central Committee of the Communist Party and thus made himself the dictator of the Soviet Union, he proceeded with his plan for the rapid economic and social transformation of the U.S.S.R. An integral component of the Party factionalism and turmoil following the death of Vladimir I. Lenin (1870–1924) in 1924 had been the "Great Debate." The key issue was how to transform the Soviet Union into an advanced industrial economy. Such a discussion hinged, of course, on the fate of the New Economic Policy that Lenin had introduced in 1921, featuring a mixed economy, and peasant agriculture. One approach, favored by the "right," was to maintain the NEP and slowly invest in the industrial sector. This argument was based on the need to maintain high levels of grain production both to feed a growing urban population and to export for investment capital. The "left" (and Stalin had alternated his allegiance to both sides as political necessity demanded) argued that dependence on peasant-based agriculture would destroy the revolution and, in any case, was theoretical heresy. The left cited the phenomenon of the "scissors crisis" during which peasants restricted grain production and sales when the prices for their grain fell too low relative to industrial prices, in effect making the Soviet economy hostage to their economic needs. Therefore, argued the left, the growing power of the peasantry

had to be broken and industrialization strongly promoted. Stalin eventually chose the second option. In 1929, the Soviet Union embarked on Stalin's "revolution from above," which featured rapid industrial development, collectivization of agriculture, and a degree of state terrorism hardly surpassed by the Nazis in Germany. The peasants—their land seized and forced to work on large, collective farms—resisted, going so far as to burn fields, destroy equipment, and slaughter livestock. Stalin responded with "de-kulakization"; a kulak theoretically was a rich peasant who exploited other peasants, but in reality, a kulak was anyone who resisted collectivization. Uncooperative peasants were rounded up, often shot, or sent to Siberia and incarcerated in the infamous gulag prison system of the Stalinist totalitarian state. The rest were herded onto collectivized farms (*kolkhoz*) and became agricultural proletarians. In the short run, famine devastated the U.S.S.R. with estimates of as many as 20 million deaths; in the long run, Soviet agriculture never fully recovered and became an enduring weakness of the Soviet economy until its collapse in 1991. In this selection, a peasant from the Smolensk district (in western Russia) complains bitterly in a letter to a local newspaper. This letter is part of invaluable archival material from Smolensk; the secret police archives were seized by the German army during their invasion of the Soviet Union and at the war's end fell into the hands of the U.S. Army. Until 1991, this material was virtually the only real glimpse of how the Soviet system operated, especially outside Moscow.

### Questions to Consider

- How was this peasant's village collectivized?
- What are his complaints about the *kolkhoz* organizer?
- Does this peasant seem to have been a class enemy and a danger to the revolution?

**F**or a long time I have wanted to write you about what you have written on collectivization in your newspaper *Nasha Derevnnya*.

In the first place I will give you my address so that you will not suspect that I am a kulak or one of his parasites. I am a poor peasant. I have one hut, one barn, one horse, 3 *dessyatins*<sup>1</sup> of land, and a wife and three children. Dear Comrades, as a subscriber to your newspaper...I found in No. 13/85 for February 15 a letter from a peasant who writes about the life of *kolkhoz* construction. I, a poor peasant, reading this letter, fully agreed with it. This peasant described life in the *kolkhoz* completely correctly. Isn't it true that all the poor peasants and middle peasants do not want to go into the *kolkhoz* at all, but that you drive them in by force? For example, I'll take my village soviet of Yushkovo. A brigade of soldiers came to us. This

brigade went into all the occupied homes, and do you think that they organized a *kolkhoz*? No, they did not organize it. The hired laborers, and the poor peasants came out against it and said they did not want *corvée*, they did not want serfdom...I'll write more of my village soviet. When the Red Army brigade left, they sent us a *kolkhoz* organizer from Bryansk *okrug*. And whom do you think this Comrade signed up? Not poor peasants, not hired laborers, but kulaks, who, sensing their own ruin, enter the *kolkhoz*. And your organizer... takes to evil deeds. At night, together with the Komsomolites, he takes everything away from the peasants, both surpluses and taxes, which you fleece from the peasants. Of course agricultural taxes are necessary, self-taxation is necessary, fire taxes are necessary, tractorization is necessary. But where can the toiling peasant get this money if not from the seeds of his products? And these Party people stay up all night and rob the peasants. If he brings a pud, if he brings 5, it's all the same. I would propose that you let the peasant live in greater freedom than he does now, and then we won't beg you to get rid of such a gang, for we ourselves will eliminate them.

---

Source: Ivan Trofimovich Chuyunkov, in Merle Fainsod, *Smolensk Under Soviet Rule* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955), 251–252.

<sup>1</sup> About 8.1 acres



## 41

# *One Woman's Struggle Against Stalinist Terror (1936)*

Z I N A I D A C H E R K O V S K A Y A

After Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) ousted his political rivals in the Communist leadership and made himself the unchallenged dictator of the Soviet Union, he launched a program designed to create the new Soviet society, complete with new Soviet citizens. Stalin's program included rapid industrialization (concentrated on heavy industry with little regard for the consumer sector and financed by forced savings from Soviet citizens), collectivization of agriculture (which herded the peasants onto poorly run, vastly inefficient state cooperatives, while the many that resisted were liquidated or sent to Siberia), and state terror. The regime of Stalinist terror has become legendary, with its images of the mysterious, ruthless secret police; cynical prosecutors; the ominous and brutal gulag; the "show trials;" executions; and the millions exiled to long sentences at hard labor in the deadly environment of Siberia, from which many did not return. The purges, as they are known, raged most fiercely between 1935 and 1939, touched off ostensibly by the murder of one of Stalin's henchmen, Sergei Kirov (1888–1934), and culminating in the military officers' purge that threatened the capabilities of the Red Army on the eve of World War II. Scholars have long debated Stalin's purposes; some contend that the purges were merely the manifestation of a paranoid, power-mad individual—quite regrettable but not rational. Closely related to this interpretation is the assertion that Stalin thus perverted Lenin's work and that the purges were not reflective of true Marxist socialism. Others argue that Stalin had a clear purpose in his "madness"; he carefully targeted those individuals and groups in society that could challenge his control (Old Bolsheviks, peasants, and army officers, for example) and also sought to intimidate the masses of Soviet society and break the bourgeois morality that he believed still controlled people's attitudes. Indeed, following the purge of the older generation of the Party leadership and bureaucracy, positions were filled with new men and women who were more closely tied to Stalin than the older generation could ever have been. Moreover, some scholars have contended that the Stalinist terror was the logical extension of Vladimir I. Lenin's (1870–1924) theories on politics and revolution and his use of revolutionary terror during the Russian Civil War (1918–1921). Interpretative issues aside, Stalin's campaign of terror resulted in a human tragedy of mammoth proportions, with millions killed and millions more lives shattered, families sundered, and an immeasurable transformation in the psyche of the collective Soviet citizenry. While much is known about the murderous brutality of the purges in their extremes, the impact on daily life is less obvious. In this selection, one lonely woman, Zinaida Cherkovskaya, describes the personal despair and sorrows the purges caused her. She was a

victim of the paranoid denunciations of the period and the seemingly irrational, yet implacable, state repression. In a bold attempt to gain relief and save her lover, Cherkovskaya wrote a letter to a local party official in Smolensk telling her life story and begging forgiveness. This letter is part of invaluable archival material from Smolensk; the secret police archives were seized by the German army during their invasion of the Soviet Union and at the war's end fell into the hands of the U.S. Army. Until 1991, this material was virtually the only real glimpse of how the Soviet system operated, especially outside Moscow. Not much is known about the fate of the principals in this sad tale, except that the official who received the letter was later purged himself.

### Questions to Consider

- For what crime was Cherkovskaya destroyed? How did the Stalinist terror manifest itself in this woman's letter?
- What does her letter reveal about gender issues in Soviet Russia?
- How can one explain the behavior of Cherkovskaya's lover, Melnikov? What about her unwanted husband's behavior?

### To the secretary of the Western Oblast Committee of the CPSU(b), Comrade Rumyantsev

Ivan Petrovich:

The matter about which I have decided to write you concerns the CPSU(b) member Melnikov, who works with you in the Obkom. In the investigation of Party documents he received a reprimand because of me, and because of this my life has been completely shattered, and therefore I cannot remain silent. I feel that I should write you everything frankly and honestly.

I am the daughter of a railroad employee. My father worked on the railroad for 35 years, 25 years at Pochinok Station, Western Oblast. A few years ago, at the age of 17, I married a veterinarian, who, upon finishing the institute, was assigned to Pochinok. It may have been because he was twice as old as I, or for another reason, but from the first days of our life together it became obvious that we had nothing in common, we were different types of people, strangers. At first I did not have enough resoluteness to speak of divorce, and then a baby came and I lived for the greater part of a year with my parents in Pochinok. When my husband was transferred to the Brasov stud farm, I started to study at the Brasov technical school, and he at the same time found himself a more suitable woman and began to live with her, although unofficially. I did not finish the technical school, because I did not want to live

where he was, and I went to Moscow for a half-year course, leaving my daughter with my mother. After finishing the course, I returned to Pochinok and remained there to take care of my sick mother, who died within a year. From the moment I left Brasov I had no correspondence with my former husband. He lived openly with another woman, but no one in Pochinok, except my parents knew that we had separated. I was ashamed to talk about it. In 1932 I learned that he had been arrested for participation in a wreckers' organization and was exiled for 3 years. When things went badly with him he remembered me and our daughter and began to write, to beg forgiveness, etc. I never loved him, and after all this he didn't mean anything to me at all, but for the sake of our daughter I agreed to write him once in a while about her. After the death of my mother I continued to live with my daughter and my father in Pochinok. I began to work as a proofreader in the editorial office of the *Pochinok Kolkhoznik*. I worked enthusiastically, felt free, independent, wanted very much to live, wanted happiness, which I had never known. After a time Melnikov was appointed editor of the *P.K.* We became acquainted and liked each other. We began to see each other. On the first night I told him everything about myself, so that there would be no misunderstandings afterwards. I'm not going to begin to speak about him, but I fell head over heels in love with him. After some time we became intimate. Soon he was appointed assistant secretary of the raikom of the CPSU(b), and under the pretext that he had a great deal of work, we began to see each other less often, and after a time I was dismissed from work. It was Melnikov who did this, since there was not a new editor. It is impossible to express in words how I suffered. I had put

---

Source: Zinaida Cherkovskaya, in Merle Fainsod, *Smolensk Under Soviet Rule* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955), 225, 228–229.



my whole soul into my work, heard only approval from those around me, and the man who knew me best of all dismissed me from work. Often I was insistently pursued by the thought of suicide. This is cowardice, I know, but I felt that it was easier to die than to live without the man in whom I saw all happiness, all joy for myself. My little daughter forced me to dispel these thoughts.

I went to Smolensk and got a job as a proofreader in the House of the Press, and although I was the youngest proofreader, they soon appointed me copy editor on the *kolkhoz* newspaper. Soon Melnikov began to study in the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and we met and spent our free time together, but he lived in the dormitory and I with my sister, since it was difficult to find a room in which to live together, and furthermore, it was easier and better for him to study while living with his fellow students. We lived in the hope that after he finished his studies we would finally settle things. But in the fall of 1935 I learned that they had created a whole case against Melnikov because he was seeing me. We began to see each other less frequently, and finally parted. Later I learned that they had reprimanded him because of me. I do not know to this day of what I was accused—nobody told me. But I was completely devoted to Melnikov, lived for his interests, and the fact that he had unpleasantness on account of me was painful and incomprehensible to me. My position was desperate.

After working a year in the House of the Press, I left work in August, as Melnikov had suggested. When I learned of his reprimand, I went to pieces. It seemed to me that not only had I no right to work, but that I could not live with people. I left my sister without telling her the reason, and I did not want to live with my father. I feared that there would be unpleasantness for him on account of me, although he was in the decline of life.

In January 1936 I received a letter from my former husband, in which he wrote that they had freed him before his term was up and that he had worked for a year in the system of the NKVD in Kazakhstan. At the end

he wrote: if during these four years you did not get married, during your vacation come to visit me with your daughter, to see Kazakhstan. At that time I could not reason sensibly. I decided that my life was at an end anyway, and I went to him with my daughter, but I could not live with him for one day. I told him I had loved somebody else for three years now, and that only despair could have pushed me to this rash journey. He decided that I had sacrificed myself for the sake of my daughter. He really does not know the situation, and I did not want to tell him. He hopes that sometime I will "quiet down" and will be able to live with him. In April he went to a health resort and I went to my relatives in Smolensk. I am not deceived in regard to him. I am not a young girl. I am 24 years old and have lived through many adversities of life, and things were good with me only with Melnikov. I will not be able to fall out of love with him or forget him, and I never want to build my life without him. I met him accidentally in Smolensk, told him how much I had suffered without him, and he told me that I should live only in my work, but that we should not see each other.

But I think I shall go mad. I don't want to be reconciled to it. I cannot get it through my head that in our free country, where the children of kulaks are not responsible for the crimes of their parents, I should be tortured my whole life because my former husband was once sentenced, and I do not have the right to be the wife of the man I love. Though he is a Party member, I am not an alien. I have concealed nothing, I have deceived no one, and I do not want to be a criminal without a crime.

I have recounted my whole life and all my "crimes" to you, Ivan Petrovich, more frankly than to my own father. At the cost of my life I would be happy to prove to you the truthfulness of my words.

I trust you implicitly, and whatever your opinion will be on this problem, it will be law for me.

ZINAIDA CHERKOVSKAYA

# *An American Worker Behind the Urals at the Magnitogorsk Blast Furnaces (1932–1935)*

J O H N S C O T T

Once Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) had dispensed with his enemies on the right and left on the Central Committee of the Communist Party and thus made himself the dictator of the Soviet Union, he proceeded with his plan for the rapid economic and social transformation of the U.S.S.R. In 1929, the Soviet Union embarked on Stalin's "revolution from above," which featured rapid industrial development, collectivization of agriculture, and a degree of state terrorism hardly surpassed by the Nazis in Germany. In the industrial sector, Stalin's demands were extraordinary. Proclaiming that the Soviet Union had only ten years to do what had taken a hundred in the West, Stalin proceeded to force the Soviet Union to catch up with the West. Rigid and enthusiastically optimistic five-year plans guided all activity, with a central planning office (*Gosplan*) setting production quotas and allocating resources for the entire Soviet economy. Factory managers were under overwhelming pressure to meet their quotas, which led to all manner of questionable practices, ranging from falsification of records to non-existent quality control or maintenance of machinery to pressure on the workers to produce more. (Some responses would be amusing, were it not for the serious nature of this issue. Fastener factories, for example, given an overall target of a million screws, would produce a million screws of only one size so as not to lose time by resetting the machinery.) The long-term impact was the inculcation of sloppy managerial practices and work habits that plagued the Soviet economy until the U.S.S.R. collapsed in 1991. In the short run, however, Stalin's industrialization program did indeed transform the Soviet Union: the heavy industry sector of the economy recorded exceptional growth, even discounting the obvious distortions in the statistics. Industrial growth was strong enough to enable the Soviet Union to withstand the German armies in 1941. More and more Soviet citizens moved to urban centers, and the power of the peasantry was broken. With the tremendous demand for labor, women found virtually every field open to them; they were still, however, expected to be wives and mothers. These accomplishments did not come without costs, including the collapse of the consumer section as resources were channeled primarily into the heavy industry sector—thus the ubiquitous lines to buy anything in the Soviet Union. The use of state terrorism, of course, also had a chilling effect on Soviet society.

The Soviet industrialization drive was greatly facilitated by Western experts; American, French, British, and German engineers and other technical experts



were hired by the Soviet Union. Many of these men went simply for the chance to earn a living (during the Great Depression, a job was a job!) while others took part in the great socialist experiment for ideological reasons. One such individual was an American named John Scott (1912–1976), the son of a well-known leftist. Scott worked building blast furnaces at Magnitogorsk, a brand new city being constructed at the site of rich iron deposits in the Ural Mountains. Magnitogorsk was representative of the tremendous, even heroic, optimism of Stalin's five-year plans. Scott endured the harsh conditions with his fellow workers for three years, married a Russian woman, and returned to the United States. His observations, first published in 1942 in his *Behind the Urals*, are remarkably objective and informative.

### Questions to Consider

- According to Scott, what were living and working conditions like? What does this reveal about the limits of the central planning office?
- What was the role of women in Magnitogorsk?
- What criticisms does Scott make?

I spent two days stumbling around the immense iron mine which was producing upwards of five million tons of ore a year—nearly twenty-five per cent of the Soviet Union's total output. Twenty-five imported electric locomotives were at work pulling modern fifty-ton dump cars from cutting to crusher and thence to the agglomeration plant. I watched the electric excavators shoveling ore at the rate of fifty tons per minute, or else standing with their arms extended awaiting the arrival of empty cars to fill—a sight which always reminded me of a man surprised while eating, frozen with his fork halfway to his open mouth.

The mine did not appeal to me as a place to work. I went back to the blast furnaces to survey the possibilities there.

I had seldom seen any but the seedy side of the blast furnaces. Our gang of construction workers was called in only to do repair work when something went wrong.

During the winters of 1933 and 1934 the whole blast-furnace department was periodically shut down. The cold winds played havoc with the big furnaces. Gas lines, air lines, water pipes, all froze. Tons of ice hung down all around, sometimes collapsing steel structures with their weight. One of the four furnaces was shut down for general repairs most of the time.

One job we all remembered vividly was the demolition work after the disastrous explosion on No. 2 in 1934. We were kept busy night and day for two months.

Owing to incorrect handling of the tapping hole a water jacket burned through and several cubic yards of water came into contact with the molten iron. The resultant blast blew the roof off the cast house, badly damaged the side of the furnace, and seriously injured everybody who was near-by at the time. No. 2 was shut down for two months for repairs, which cost the country some fifty thousand tons of iron. The repairs themselves cost a million and a half roubles, and occupied construction workers who could have been doing other things. Several people were tried in an attempt to fix responsibility for this accident, but there was no convictions. For two weeks previous to the disaster everybody connected with the furnace had known that the tapping hole was in bad shape. The foreman told the superintendent, who told the director, who told Zavenyagin, who telephoned Ordjonokidze, the People's Commissar of the USSR for the whole industry. Nobody realized the dangers of a bad tapping hole, and no one wanted to take the responsibility for shutting down the furnace prematurely at a time when the country needed pig iron very badly.

Inexperience and carelessness took a heavy toll in the blast-furnace transport system also. There were never enough ladles, mainly because of the fact that the railroad workers failed to put them squarely under the iron spouts or else neglected to take them away in time. In either case the ladles were inundated with hot iron, which ate through axles, wheels, and rails....

By 1935 conditions were much improved. When I went scouting for a job I was struck by the appearance of No. 2. It was clean as a billiard table, the walls were whitewashed, tools hung neatly in their places. The gang went about its work quietly and efficiently.

---

Source: John Scott, *Behind the Urals*, enlarged ed., prepared by Stephen Kotkin (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973, 1989), 139–144, 151–152.



The personnel was getting enough to eat. Everybody had given up trying to idolize proletarian labor on a komsomol<sup>1</sup> blast furnace (work on any blast furnace in any country is hot, unhealthy, dangerous, and gruelingly hard). The workers were enjoying some of the good things of life outside the mill. Their living conditions had improved, so that their attention could be focused on these things and their work regarded more realistically, as necessary labor which must be done efficiently and well in order to make possible the sunnier side of life. This point of view made possible strict labor discipline and efficient work....

I knew a number of people working on the rolling mills, and one afternoon I set out to visit some of them. I walked down the immense blooming mill, where eight-ton ingots were tossed and shot around by mechanized cranes and power-driven rollers, and entered the operator's cabin where a close friend of Masha's [Scott's Russian wife] worked.

Shura was an operator. She sat in a white cabin with large double glass windows directly over the rolls of the mill, and operated a score of control buttons and a dozen foot pedals. One set in motion the rolls which brought the ingots to the mill; another regulated their speed; several more controlled the large mechanical fingers which turned the ingot over; others reversed the direction, and so on. Shura had under her control a ten-thousand-horsepower direct-current motor which reversed its direction of rotation every ten or fifteen seconds and which had received the full benefit of several decades of the best electrical engineering experience in the United States, and a score of auxiliary motors of various kinds. The place was as clean as the operating room of a good hospital, and before I was fairly inside the door an electrician came up and told me no one was supposed to come in because it might upset the operator. They were trying to make a record, he told me. According to the project they should roll an ingot in less than a minute. Actually it took 3.2 minutes on the average and the record for an eight-hour shift was only two minutes, and an average of fifteen per cent of their production was not up to specifications. The electrician made a whole speech until a shortage of ingots caused a shutdown and Shura left her levers and came and talked to me.

She was a village girl who had been very sick, which had been the cause of her taking the operators' course instead of doing more active work. She was twenty-three, had the high cheekbones and open features of peasant stock, and the rather pale, nervous expression

which had come as a result of her months in the hospital and subsequent work as blooming-mill operator. She came to work always with a red kerchief around her head, and the same serious, high-strung expression. She was never late, did not have to take off for a smoke like many of the men, and never came with a hang-over. Moreover, she had learned the technique of operating the blooming mill. She understood the electrical controls which she operated, and while her knowledge of theoretical physics was not extensive (she had gone to school only seven years), she knew enough to be a thoroughly competent operator. Beyond this it was a question of a simple mechanical and nervous dexterity, and at this she was a master. She was one of the best operators in Magnitogorsk....

The Party Cell in Mill 500 included fifty-six members and candidates and twenty-one sympathizers. (Before one can become a full-fledged party member, it is necessary to go through the preliminary stages of sympathizer and candidate.) Weissberg, two of his assistants, three of the four shift engineers, four foremen, and the general foreman were all members of the party. Party members were privileged in that it was easier for them to get scholarships to schools, obtain new apartments, or get vacations in August instead of November.

But, on the other hand, a great deal more responsibility was put on them. If something went wrong and the brigade spoiled a job, a worker who was a party member was held as much or more responsible than the non-party brigadier. In case of vacancies in administrative posts, a party member was usually advanced faster than a non-party member of the same capabilities.

Mitya, as party organizer, probably more than any one person was responsible for the production successes in Mill 500. He had an efficient tongue, and knew how to talk to the workers, making them ashamed of bad work; getting them to try harder by making them understand what they were working for. He was fired with such tangible ardor for the construction of Socialism and everything connected with it that it impressed and influenced everyone with whom he came in contact.

Administrative and technical questions were discussed at regular closed party meetings, and inasmuch as most of the administrators were party members, important decisions could be, and were, made.

The development of 'vigilance' was a major party task. All party members had to be on the watch all the time for sabotage, spying, propaganda of the class enemy, counter-revolution, and similar phenomena. This boiled down to a rather abnormal interest of party members in other people's business and continual 'tattletaling,' and resultant suspicion and distrust particularly among the administrative personnel.

---

<sup>1</sup> Communist Youth League, to which many Magnitogorsk workers belonged



## 43

# *The Art of Propaganda: A Master Reveals His Secrets (1924)*

A D O L F H I T L E R

Adolf Hitler's (1889–1945) appointment as German chancellor in 1933 resulted from a variety of factors, including the economic collapse caused by the Great Depression, the backroom political deal-making of the traditionalist conservative politicians (who believed they could control Hitler), and Hitler's own political skills. One should not forget that in the election prior to his appointment, his party had polled the largest number of votes. Building on the economic disaster, Hitler tailored his message to those affected by the Depression: petty shopkeepers, unemployed workers, and the middle classes in general. He had clearly gotten his message across and was rewarded with increasing support. In addition to his oratorical skills, Hitler had a keen understanding of mass psychology and how to manipulate the masses. In this selection, excerpted from *Mein Kampf* (a hybrid memoir and political manifesto that he dictated in prison following the failed attempt to overthrow the Bavarian state government in 1924), Hitler outlines his approach to propaganda.

## Questions to Consider

- To whom does Hitler address his propaganda? What does this reveal about his movement and its adherents?
- What, according to Hitler, are the main elements of successful propaganda? Which ones seem most crucial?
- What example of successful propaganda does Hitler use? Why?

**T**he psyche of the great masses is not receptive to anything that is half-hearted and weak....

To whom should propaganda be addressed? To the scientifically trained intelligentsia or to the less educated masses?

It must be addressed always and exclusively to the masses....

All propaganda must be popular and its intellectual level must be adjusted to the most limited intelligence among those it is addressed to. Consequently, the greater the mass it is intended to reach, the lower its purely intellectual level will have to be....

The art of propaganda lies in understanding the emotional ideas of the great masses and finding,

Source: Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. Ralph Mannheim (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1943), 42, 179–185.

through a psychologically correct form, the way to the attention and thence to the heart of the broad masses. The fact that our bright boys do not understand this merely shows how mentally lazy and conceited they are.

Once we understand how necessary it is for propaganda to be adjusted to the broad mass, the following rule results:

It is a mistake to make propaganda many-sided, like scientific instruction, for instance.

The receptivity of the great masses is very limited, their intelligence is small, but their power of forgetting is enormous. In consequence of these facts, all effective propaganda must be limited to a very few points and must harp on these in slogans until the last member of the public understands what you want him to understand by your slogan. As soon as you sacrifice this slogan and try to be many-sided, the effect will piddle away, for the crowd can neither digest nor retain the material offered. In this way, the result is weakened and in the end entirely cancelled out...

The broad mass of a nation does not consist of diplomats, or even professors of political law, or even individuals capable of forming a rational opinion; it consists of plain mortals, wavering and inclined to doubt and uncertainty. As soon as our own propaganda

admits so much as a glimmer of right on the other side, the foundation for doubt in our own right has been laid....

The people in their overwhelming majority are so feminine by nature and attitude that sober reasoning determines their thoughts and actions far less than emotion and feeling....

But the most brilliant propagandist technique will yield no success unless one fundamental principle is borne in mind constantly and with unflagging attention. It must confine itself to a few points and repeat them over and over. Here, as so often in this world, persistence is the first and most important requirement for success....

The purpose of propaganda is not to provide interesting distraction for blasé young gentlemen, but to convince, and what I mean is to convince the masses. But the masses are slow-moving, and they always require a certain time before they are ready even to notice a thing, and only after the simplest ideas are repeated thousands of times will the masses finally remember them....

[During World War I] at first the claims of the [enemy] propaganda were so impudent that people thought it insane; later, it got on people's nerves; and in the end, it was believed....

## 44

# *The "Fundamental Ideas" of Fascism (1935)*

B E N I T O M U S S O L I N I

Following the end of World War I in 1918, many yearned for a return to the pre-war world, to bourgeois certainties of liberal politics and economic progress—in the words of U.S. President Warren G. Harding (1865–1923), a return to "normalcy," a malapropism which then entered popular English usage. Such desires were, in many ways, unfulfilled, rendered impossible by the carnage of the trenches of the Western front and revolutionary upheavals in Central and Eastern Europe. Throughout Europe, both intellectuals and workers demanded a sweeping reorganization of society. Italy had been on the winning side in World War I (1914–1918), but Italian involvement had never been very popular. The unsatisfactory outcome—in the eyes of Italian nationalists—of the Versailles Peace Conference, which had not delivered the full measure of territorial possessions



promised to Italy by the Allies in 1915, left many disgruntled. Unhappiness was especially high among war veterans, typically unable to find jobs in the sluggish post-war economy. These men, joined by restless youths, found a place for themselves in *fasci di combattimento*, right-wing paramilitary groups prone to violence. The emergence of such groups was a continent-wide phenomenon; in Germany the *Freikorps* were an analog, serving as a fertile recruiting ground for radical nationalist movements such as the Nazis. In Italy, Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) soon emerged as the leader of the fascist movement. Drawn to radical politics, Mussolini had been a socialist until his expulsion for support of Italian entry into the war. Following the war, Mussolini, himself a veteran, joined the fascists; his oratorical and political skills enabled him to become the movement's leader very quickly. Membership in the movement swelled; by 1921, it had some 300,000 members. As the Italian economy remained stagnant and the working classes became increasingly restive, the fascists employed violent methods to combat the striking workers, and Mussolini seemed to promise protection for middle-class property owners. In 1922, buoyed by his successes and tempted by the weakness of the parliamentary government, Mussolini threatened a massive march on Rome unless he was named prime minister. The government caved in, and the king appointed Mussolini, soon to be referred to as “Il Duce,” prime minister. He would remain leader of Italy until he was hanged in 1945. Fascism, one brand of totalitarianism that emerged in the inter-war years, is a term often misused. In its proper sense, it refers to a revolutionary, mass movement that glorified the state and violence, rejecting totally liberalism and democracy as decadent. Even though Mussolini was the first of the new style of twentieth-century European dictators, he never achieved the level of totalitarian control that Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) in Germany or Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) in the Soviet Union did. Italian fascism also lacked the virulent and ultimately deadly anti-Semitism that characterized the Nazi movement. In this selection, excerpted from his *Fascism: Doctrines and Institutions*, published in the U.S. in 1935, Mussolini outlines his “Fundamental Ideas.”

### Questions to Consider

- How does Mussolini link history, the state, and human beings?
- What is the role of the individual, according to Mussolini?
- In what ways does Mussolini argue that fascism is totalitarian?

**L**ike all sound political conceptions, Fascism is action and it is thought; action in which doctrine is imminent, and doctrine arising from a given system of historical forces in which it is inserted, and working on them from within. It has therefore a form correlated to contingencies of time and space; but it has also an ideal content which makes it an expression of truth in the higher region of the history of thought.... To know men one must know man; and to know man one must be acquainted with reality and its laws. There can be no conception of the State which is not fundamentally a conception of life: philosophy or intuition, sys-

tem of ideas evolving within the framework of logic or concentrated in a vision or a faith, but always, at least potentially, an organic conception of the world.

Thus many of the practical expressions of Fascism—such as party organisation, system of education, discipline—can only be understood when considered in relation to its general attitude toward life.... A spiritual attitude. Fascism sees in the world not only those superficial, material aspects in which man appears as an individual, standing by himself, self-centered, subject to natural law which instinctively urges him toward a life of selfish momentary pleasure; it sees not only the individual but the nation and the country; individuals and generations bound together by a moral law, with common traditions and a mission which suppressing the instinct for life closed in a brief circle of pleasure, builds up a higher life, founded on duty, a life free from the

---

Source: Benito Mussolini, *Fascism: Doctrine and Institutions* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1935), 7–11.

limitations of time and space, in which the individual, by self-sacrifice, the renunciation of self-interest, by death itself, can achieve that purely spiritual existence in which his value as a man consists.

The conception is therefore a spiritual one, arising from the general reaction of the century against the placid materialistic positivism of the XIXth century....

In the Fascist conception of history, man is man only by virtue of the spiritual process to which he contributes as a member of the family, the social group, the nation, and in function of history to which all nations bring their contribution.... Outside history man is a nonentity. Fascism is therefore opposed to all individualistic abstractions based on eighteenth century materialism; and it is opposed to all Jacobinistic utopias and innovations....

Anti-individualistic, the Fascist conception of life stresses the importance of the State and accepts the individual only in so far as his interests coincide with

those of the State, which stands for the conscience and the universal will of man as a historic entity. It is opposed to classical liberalism which arose as a reaction to absolutism and exhausted its historical function when the State became the expression of the conscience and will of the people. Liberalism denied the State in the name of the individual; Fascism reasserts the rights of the State as expressing the real essence of the individual. And if liberty is to be the attribute of living men and not of abstract dummies invented by individualistic liberalism, then Fascism stands for liberty, and for the only liberty worth having, the liberty of the State and of the individual within the State. The Fascist conception of the State is all-embracing; outside of it no human or spiritual values can exist, much less have value. Thus understood, Fascism is totalitarian, and the Fascist State—a synthesis and a unit inclusive of all values—interprets, develops, and potentiates the whole life of a people....

## 45

# *Nazi Recreation: Summer Camps for Girls (ca. 1930s)*

## REICH YOUTH HEADQUARTERS

From its inception the Nazi movement had been one that attracted young people; its earliest members had been veterans in their twenties and youths too young to have served in the Great War (World War I). Hitler himself was only 44 years old when he became chancellor of Germany. The movement's dynamism, rejection of the past, and violence appealed to young men and women. Moreover, Hitler realized the importance of indoctrinating young people—the next generation of workers, soldiers, and mothers—into the one true path of Nationalism Socialism in order to perpetuate his vision of the Thousand Year Reich. (The Third Reich name that is associated with the Nazi regime came from the idea that Hitler's was the third empire [*reich* in German]; the first was the Holy Roman Empire established about 1000, and the second was the empire founded in 1871.) The Hitler Youth Movement was the organizational manifestation of the Nazi interest in young people and was considered an important component in the Nazi hierarchy. The Nazi Party went to considerable effort to prepare young Germans to be good Nazis. In this selection, propaganda from the Reich Youth Headquarters describes the activities of its summer camps for girls, including one camper's



"memoirs." Even though Hitler believed a woman's place was in the home, he nevertheless maintained that even wives and mothers should be good Nazis.

### Questions to Consider

- How can one characterize the activities that took place at the camps?
- What is the major point of the camper's recollection of the conversation about the Borderlands? How does this recollection relate to the description of the summer camp activities? How genuine do you think it is?

We are a political Organization of Girls and acknowledge herewith the task which has been set for us by the National Socialist State: to remain alert and ready for our duty and to help with all our strength in the building of a National Socialist Volk. Politics today means to us not only the consideration of daily political occurrences, but Politics means to us also the ideological, spiritual, and cultural forming of the entire German people in the sense of National Socialist Demands. Our educational work is determined by this great political task. It has to readjust itself continually to these demands. Then there will emerge from the community where such work is done the person who is the embodiment of our way, healthy and capable, inwardly strong and womanly, consciously German and consciously National Socialistic.

These recreation camps, where our community becomes closely cemented, are an essential expression of our way. Our chief work in the summer month is therefore consciously the holding of recreation camps in which our political education pattern takes shape. Recreation camps force a cementing of community. Girls from all walks of life, from overpopulated cities as well as the wide open country, stand together under our flag for days and weeks, leaving behind all their ordinary interests in life—school and machine, lecture hall and household—and finding a vigorous and healthful life.

Political education in the recreation camp is not synonymous with scientific discussions, but is rather determined by the experiences shared by the camp community and is shaped accordingly. Our recreation camps are organized more loosely than the leadership schools [Führerinnenschulungen], but in spite of all fun, rigid discipline prevails. Our girls should really be able to leave their daily troubles and cares behind during this week to ten days.

Source: U.S. Chief of Counsel for the Prosecution of Axis Criminality, *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), vol. 5, doc. no. 2439-PS, 136–138.

Many who have not yet found us inwardly, acquaint themselves here with the life and the forms of the National Socialist League of Girls and become so attached to it that they cannot dissolve this bond upon their return to everyday life....

Everything the girls experience here takes on a clear, visible pattern in their joint discussions, in which knowledge of their mission in our state, our educational pattern, and the National Socialist Ideology is imparted. During the domestic evenings [Heimabende] the work done during the forenoon, and the work of the Führer and his assistants, the work of the young creative forces in our ranks, is brought closer to them. During the forenoons devoted to reading, they acquaint themselves with the literature of National Socialism and so absorb lasting values....

In clear recognition we created these recreation camps not only for the girls already in our ranks, but also for all the others. We want to do our work with a joyful sense of responsibility, with loyal performance of our duty, and with industry. In order not to become tired and sluggish under the burden of work which each working girl carries however, we need a time which permits quiet collection of strength—free time: Our recreation camps, in which the girls are schooled and prepared for their responsibility and duty to the people and the State, are a political necessity.

### Borderland

The circular which called us to camps stated: each junior girl leader will give a survey of the historical and native development of her subdistrict [Untergau] and will consider how she would work this out with junior girls [Jungmädels].

Each of us then realized anew how many living witnesses of ancient history, memorials, walls and bulwarks, legends, tales and jokes, songs and old customs are still alive in her subdistrict.

We had been in camps for three days now. We had penetrated deeper and deeper into National Socialist ideology, emphasized especially the cultural desire of National Socialism; we had discussed our junior girl ac-

tivities and had worked on the arrangement of our home; we had sung, gone on a short trip, and participated in practical junior girl sports. Today in our domestic evening we want to hear something about Pomeranian customs and Pomeranian History.<sup>1</sup>

After supper we march silently down to the sea....

Our Pomeranian coast lies before our eyes. Now Traute, from the village of Leba up on the Polish border, tells us about the immensity of the shore and of the sea....

Then she suddenly becomes serious: "In our subdistrict we have 200 kilometers of border. Consider what that means: 200 kilometers of border. The Versailles Treaty separates German soil from German soil, blocks our access to the nearest port, and cuts off traffic to the east. Our border city of Lauenburg is flooded with agricultural products. One farm after another in our coun-

try gets into great difficulties since, because of the demarcation of the border, there is no longer a market outlet for agricultural products. In Lauenburg itself the greatest amount of unemployment in Pomerania prevails. The Winter relief work tries to alleviate the worst conditions of misery and distress during the winter. Everything is shut down—the factories, the brickyards, and all large plants. These are the effects of the demarcation of the border on our Homeland....

"And the border itself; visualize a forest, through which a road leads to a railroad station. The road is neutral, the forest is German on the right and Polish on the left. I cannot tell you how one feels on this road; you would have to come and experience it all yourselves.

"But we know that we are on outpost duty there. You can rely on us." Traute is silent. We all get up, grasp each other's hand, and our song is solemn now: "Holy Fatherland, in danger thy sons will flock around thee...." And then we stand around the flag and look silently toward the East.

<sup>1</sup> Pomerania was one of Germany's eastern provinces along the Baltic coast. Since 1945 it has been part of Poland.

## 46

# *Sterilization for "The Unfit": The Hitlerian Nightmare Begins (1933)*

N A Z I G E R M A N  
G O V E R N M E N T

The guiding ideology of the Nazi movement was provided, of course, by Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and outlined in his *Mein Kampf* (a hybrid memoir and political manifesto that he dictated in prison following the failed attempt to overthrow the Bavarian state government in 1924). In addition to his virulent hatred of the Versailles settlement, Hitler emphasized two main tenets: *lebensraum* (living space) and racial purity. His fixation on racial purity derived from his early introduction to social Darwinism and anti-Semitism in Vienna before World War I. Hitler believed that the racially superior Germanic race was being polluted by intermarriage with non-Germans, by definition inferior, especially Jews. Moreover, the "inferior races" were reproducing at a higher rate than were the Germans. This is the genesis of his determination not only to annihilate the Jews (and others) but also to increase the size of the racially pure German population. If the racially pure and healthy Germans must increase, the flip side of the coin was



that the gene pool should not be muddled by inferior beings, especially those perceived to have hereditary defects. Hitler's efforts to purify the German race began early. In July 1933, six months after Hitler became chancellor, the Nazis promulgated the Law to Prevent the Perpetuation of Heritable Disorders, which mandated sterilization for those deemed unfit. Eugenics, as this type of social engineering is called, was not limited to Nazi Germany, but certainly found its most enthusiastic adherents there. An excerpt of the text of the Law is presented in this document.

### Questions to Consider

- How is the law intended to contribute to the creation of the “master race”?
- What are the categories of those subject to the law?

## 1

(1) Whoever suffers from a heritable disease may be made unfruitful (sterilized) through surgical means if, in the experience of medical science, it may, with great likelihood, be expected that his descendants will suffer from serious heritable physical or mental defects.

(2) Whoever suffers from one of the following ailments is considered to be heritably diseased within the meaning of this law:

1. congenital feeble-mindedness
2. schizophrenia
3. manic-depression
4. congenital epilepsy
5. heritable St. Vitus's dance (Huntington's Chorea)
6. hereditary blindness
7. hereditary deafness
8. serious heritable malformations.

(3) Further, anyone suffering from chronic alcoholism may also be made unfruitful.

## 2

(1) Entitled to request [sterilization], is he who is to be made unfruitful. If he should be incapacitated or under guardianship because of feeble-mindedness or not yet 18 years of age, then his legal representative is empowered to make the motion. In the other cases of limited capacity the request must be consented to by the legal representative. If the person is of age and has a nurse, the consent of the latter is necessary.

(2) The request is to be accompanied by a certificate from a physician accredited by the German Reich stating that the one to be sterilized has been enlightened regarding the nature and consequences of sterilization.

(3) The request for sterilization is subject to recall.

## 3

Sterilization may also be recommended by

1. the official physician,
2. the official in charge of the institution in the case of inmates of a hospital, sanitarium, or prison.

## 4

The request is to be presented in writing to, or put into writing by the business office of, the Health-Inheritance Court (Erbgesundheitsgericht). The facts underlying the request are to be certified to by a medical document or in some other way authenticated. The business office of the court must notify the official physician....

## 7

(1) The proceedings before the Health-Inheritance Courts are secret....

## 10

...(3) The Supreme Health-Inheritance Court has final jurisdiction.

## 11

(1) The surgical operation necessary for sterilization may be performed only in a hospital and by a physician accredited by the German Reich....

## 18

This law becomes effective January 1, 1934.

Source: Germany, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, in W. C. Langsam, ed., *Documents and Readings in the History of Europe Since 1918*, rev. and enlarged ed. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1951), 683–684.

## *German Workers Accept the Nazi Regime (1934)*

### GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and his Nazis had consistently attacked the social democrats and communists, literally and figuratively. Both leftist parties assumed that the workers were immune to Hitler's ultranationalistic program. Unfortunately, the incessant and bitter warfare between the social democrats and the communists, coupled with the economic disaster of the Great Depression, did enable Hitler to attract some working-class support. After he became chancellor in 1933, he introduced his "work and bread" program which featured deficit spending and large-scale government building projects such as the *autobahn* (highway system) and his then-clandestine rearmament program. The workers benefited. Moreover, Hitler promised an end to the rigid social hierarchy in Germany. While social mobility was more apparent than real, this stand increased his popularity with many Germans of humble origins. The document in this selection comes from an underground report of the outlawed Social Democratic Party (SDP) on worker attitudes toward the Nazi regime. Hitler had driven the social democrats, and all other parties, underground early. He had induced the German president Paul von Hindenburg (1847–1934), the aging World War I army chief of staff, to grant Hitler dictatorial powers through the Enabling Act. A mysterious fire had struck the Reichstag Building; Hitler loudly blamed the communists and warned of a Bolshevik revolution, prompting Hindenburg to give Hitler the power he needed. Most historians have agreed that the Nazis were responsible for the fire. Hitler and the Nazis promptly took over the state, outlawing all opposition parties. The SDP went underground to continue its rather ineffectual struggle against the Nazis. The following report is remarkable for its frankness.

#### **Questions to Consider**

- How does the report characterize, in general, the degree of working-class acceptance of the Nazis? Are there any examples of resistance?
- How do the social democrats explain the workers' attitudes?



The reports from the Reich as yet do not provide a uniform picture....

The following report is from southwestern Germany: "Judging by public attitudes, the regime seems to have the most support among workers. This is especially true for those who earlier had not been part of a political organization.... It also seems that workers submit more readily [than other social classes] to Nazi terror methods and allow themselves to be easily influenced."

A similar report from Berlin: "Large segments of the working class continue to submit [to the regime]. Faith in Hitler is remarkably strong. The circle of old [Social Democratic] party members is for the most part unshaken and refuses to accept Nazi ideology...."

From northern Bavaria similar sentiments: "The mood among workers has changed abruptly. This is especially so among those large-income earners who were never satisfied with their pay; who were abusive toward Social Democracy and blamed it because they didn't earn more; who never came to a single meeting, and who had no money to spend for a party newspaper. These indifferent egotists actually thought they would effortlessly earn more under Hitler. Now they have got their surprise. They are the ones grumbling the loudest in the factories, because now they earn barely half of their former pay and must make contributions and pay membership dues...."

A different angle sheds light on the situation in southern Bavaria: "A large segment of the work force is indifferent toward the Third Reich. The percentage of workers in this category is changing, however. Much has to do with the ability and quality of the NSBO (Nationalsozialistische Betriebszellenorganisation, National Socialist Factory Cell Organization) people. In general it can be said that in factories where solid union organizations existed earlier the workers have remained skeptical. It is also evident that underground activity will be difficult to get going here. The workers are indecisive; they are not sure of the goal nor of the path toward it. Many are also afraid of losing their jobs. A not inconsiderable number of those not 'coordinated' [*gleichgeschaltet*] are discouraged and resigned to their fate."

Much more optimistic is a report from western Saxony: "The situation here has changed markedly

since Christmas. The change is a very unfavorable one for the National Socialists. Within factories, at construction sites and other workplaces, there is now much discussion during breaks. One can surmise from this that the workers are basically opposed to the regime. Even [National Socialist] party members are expressing their dissatisfaction and disappointment...."

A Berlin report analyzes the reasons for the more confident mood of the workers: "Workers today are not as afraid of unemployment. They do not have to fear losing their jobs from one day to the next because the regime, in its effort to provide work, is exerting heavy pressure on employers to retain even their surplus work force as long as possible...."

...The reports from the period of June 30 almost all express the opinion that of all segments of German society, the working class is most submissive toward the regime, and it is presenting the least opposition.

From East Saxony: The workers in the factories are, without exception, adopting a wait-and-see attitude toward the regime and do not believe the things the Nazis are prophesying. Doubts about the accuracy of the Marxist ideological basis surfaced during this past year amid the ranks of former low-level [Social Democratic] party functionaries. The reports of rapid dwindling of the masses of unemployed were not believed by all. Many are doubting the authenticity of the figures released publicly. In any case, the fact that it was possible to obtain large sums on credit, to create new jobs and new work projects without having serious difficulties surface during the first year has shaken the opinion of many who believed that the National Socialist economic program would collapse....

The matter-of-fact way in which factory workers are accepting everything that is being thrust on them is frightening. They only grumble when the dozens of different collecting lists and the contribution collectors approach them. There is not even an inner resistance to the Hitler greeting. The fact that one has to greet others by raising the hand [and saying "Heil Hitler"] is regarded as an insignificant act, as is participating in the May 1 events. The number of those who could have excluded themselves from the beginning could have been much higher. There is a fear throughout the ranks that one will have difficulties at work and possibly lose one's job. This fear induces the workers to act in a certain way. Moreover, these things are probably only demanded of the workers in order to gauge their response. I have encountered only a few who have said, "I can't stand this rubbish anymore, I'd rather sacrifice my job."

---

Source: *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (Sopade)*, 1934–1940 (Frankfurt: Verlag Petra Nettelbeck, 1980). April/May, June/July 1934, 29–31, 207–208. Translated by Dieter Kuntz.

# *The Centerpiece of Nazi Racial Legislation: The Nuremberg Laws (1935)*

## N A Z I G E R M A N G O V E R N M E N T

The guiding ideology of the Nazi movement was provided, of course, by Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and outlined in his *Mein Kampf* (a hybrid memoir and political manifesto that he dictated in prison following the failed attempt to overthrow the Bavarian state government in 1924). In addition to his virulent hatred of the Versailles settlement, Hitler emphasized two main tenets: *lebensraum* (living space) and racial purity. His fixation on racial purity derived from his early introduction to social Darwinism and anti-Semitism in Vienna before World War I. Hitler believed that the racially superior Germanic race was being polluted by intermarriage with non-Germans, by definition inferior, especially Jews. Moreover, the “inferior races” were reproducing at a higher rate than were the Germans. This is the genesis of his determination not only to annihilate the Jews (and others) but also to increase the size of the racially pure German population. The Jews were particularly targeted by Hitler and the Nazis with if not positive support at least passive acceptance by a substantial portion of the German population. Throughout the 1920s, gangs of Nazis (“Brown Shirts”) frequently and viciously attacked Jews, both in their person and their property. Once the Nazis were in power, attacks on Jews became more legalistic: Jews were excluded from government jobs and licensed professions (law, medicine, etc.), and ultimately stripped of their German citizenship. The Nuremberg Laws, which defined who a Jew was, were a major step on the path to the Final Solution, as Hitler’s plan to eradicate European Jewry was known. The Holocaust that ensued claimed the lives of six million Jews.

### Questions to Consider

- In these laws, how do the Nazis define who a Jew is? Why?
- How do the Nazis intend to purify German blood?
- How does this legislation conform to Hitler’s racial theories? How does it conform to social Darwinism?



## Article 5

1. A Jew is anyone who descended from at least three grandparents who were racially full Jews. Article 2, par. 2, second sentence will apply.

2. A Jew is also one who descended from two full Jewish parents, if: (a) he belonged to the Jewish religious community at the time this law was issued, or who joined the community later; (b) he was married to a Jewish person, at the time the law was issued, or married one subsequently; (c) he is the offspring from a marriage with a Jew, in the sense of Section 1, which was contracted after the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor became effective...; (d) he is the offspring of an extramarital relationship, with a Jew, according to Section 1, and will be born out of wedlock after July 31, 1936....

## Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor of 15 September 1935

Thoroughly convinced by the knowledge that the purity of German blood is essential for the further existence of the German people and animated by the inflexible will to safe-guard the German nation for the entire future, the Reichstag has resolved upon the following law unanimously, which is promulgated herewith:

---

Source: U.S. Chief of Counsel for the Prosecution of Axis Criminality, *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), vol. 4, doc. no. 1417-PS, 8-10; vol. 4, doc. no. 2000-PS, 636-638.

## Section 1

1. Marriages between Jews and nationals of German or kindred blood are forbidden. Marriages concluded in defiance of this law are void, even if, for the purpose of evading this law, they are concluded abroad....

## Section 2

Relation[s] outside marriage between Jews and nationals of German or kindred blood are forbidden.

## Section 3

Jews will not be permitted to employ female nationals of German or kindred blood in their household.

## Section 4

1. Jews are forbidden to hoist the Reich and national flag and to present the colors of the Reich....

## Section 5

1. A person who acts contrary to the prohibition of section 1 will be punished with hard labor.

2. A person who acts contrary to the prohibition of section 2 will be punished with imprisonment or with hard labor.

3. A person who acts contrary to the provisions of sections 3 or 4 will be punished with imprisonment up to a year and with a fine or with one of these penalties....

# *The Ghettoization of the Jews: Prelude to the Final Solution (1941)*

T R A I A N P O P O V I C I

Without doubt, the Holocaust was the most appalling, heinous, and barbaric aspect of World War II. Born out of Hitler's pathological hatred of Jews, twisted social Darwinistic theories of race, and age-old anti-Semitism, the Final Solution, as the Nazi policy of extermination was known, involved virtually every aspect of the governmental and military bureaucracy of Germany and, in some cases, even private industry. Officials in occupied and allied states often facilitated and participated in the slaughter of Jews. By the end of the war, over six million Jews had been murdered with a mundane, business-as-usual efficiency that is almost as horrifying as the actual act. The Holocaust still reverberates in Europe and elsewhere, as people still struggle with understanding their past. In this selection, Traian Popovici, mayor of the then-Romanian city of Czernowitz (now in the Ukraine), describes the ghettoization of the Jews. Prior to the actual annihilation of the Jews, the Nazis rounded them up, transported them eastward, and confined them to certain urban neighborhoods and sometimes concentration camps. In allied and occupied states, native Jewish populations underwent the same consolidation process, which is what Popovici describes. Romania, an early ally of Nazi Germany, had its own strong, Nazi-style political movement and a high degree of anti-Semitism; thus it is not surprising that this state would be among the first to participate in the early stages of the Final Solution. Popovici's testimony reveals not only the wretched conditions in which the Jews lived but their thorough abandonment by virtually everyone. It is one of history's greatest tragedies that more people did not share Popovici's distaste for what was happening to the Jews.

## **Questions to Consider**

- What are the living conditions in the Czernowitz ghetto?
- How does Popovici describe those individuals that visit the ghetto? What does this reveal about the "average" person's degree of culpability for the Holocaust?



On the morning of October 11...I looked out the window. It was snowing and—I could not believe my eyes: on the street in front of my window long columns of people were hurrying by. Old people supported by children, women with infants in their arms, invalids dragging their maimed bodies along, all with their luggage in wagons or on their backs, with hastily packed suitcases, bedding, bundles, clothes; they all made silent pilgrimage into the city's valley of death, the ghetto....

Great activity in the city hall.... The "abandoned" wealth of the Jews was to be inventoried and their dwellings sealed. Romanianization departments were to be formed and with police assistants to be distributed throughout the city neighborhoods.

It first dawned on me then that the procedure had been a long time in the planning. I hurried to military headquarters where General Jonescu informed me of events. He let me see the promulgated ordinances.... I paged through the instructions in haste and read the regulations for the functioning of the ghetto. The bakeries were to be under city hall control, as were the [food] markets. Then I hurried again to the city hall in order to see to the measures necessary for the uninterrupted provisioning of bread, food, and especially milk for the children. For the time being, this was the role that providence allotted to me, thanks to the military cabinet.

Only those who know the topography of the city can measure how slight was the space for the ghetto to which the Jewish population was confined and in which, under pain of death, they had to be by six o'clock.

In this part of the city, even with the greatest crowding, ten thousand people could be housed at most. Fifty thousand had to be brought in, not counting the Christian population already living there. Then, and even today, I compare the ghetto to a cattle pen.

The accommodation possibilities were minimal. Even if the available rooms were to receive thirty or more people, a great number would have to seek shelter from the snow and rain in corridors, attics, cellars, and similar sorts of places. I would rather not speak of the demands of hygiene. Pure drinking water was lacking; the available public fountains did not suffice. I noted that the city already suffered from a water shortage since two of the three pumping stations had been destroyed. The strong odors of sweat, urine, and human waste, of mold and mildew, distinguished the quarter from the rest of the city.... It was a miracle that epidemics that would endanger the whole city did not break out. With surprising speed the ghetto was nearly hermetically sealed with barbed wire. At the main exits, wooden gates were erected and military guards posted. I do not know whether it was intentional, but the effect was clear: the despised were being intimidated....

Although...the regulation concerning the ghetto categorically stated that no one could enter without the authorization of the governor, no one observed this rule. As early as the second day after the erection of the ghetto, there began a pilgrimage consisting of ladies of all social strata and intellectual jobbers, well known to the Czernowitz public. Persons of "influence" from all strata and professions—hyenas all—caught the scent of cadaverous souls among the unfortunates. Under the pretext that they were in the good graces of the governor, the military cabinet, or the mayor, they began the high-level pillaging of all that was left to the unfortunates. Their gold coins, jewelry, precious stones, furs, and valuable foodstuffs (tea, coffee, chocolate, cocoa) were supposedly to be used to bribe others or to compensate [the interlopers] for putting in a good word to save someone from deportation. Trading in influence was in full bloom. Another category of hyena was the so-called friend who volunteered to protect all these goods from theft or to deliver them to family members and acquaintances elsewhere in the country. Individuals never previously seen in the city of Czernowitz streamed in from all corners of the country in order to draw profit from a human tragedy. If the deportation with all its premeditation was in itself monstrous, then the exploitation of despair surpassed even this....

---

Source: Traian Popovici, "Mein Bekenntnis," in Richard Levy, ed. and trans., *Antisemitism in the Modern World* (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1991), 243–244.

# *There Are No Civilians Anymore: The London Air Raids (1944)*

M R S . R O B E R T H E N R E Y

If World War I (1914–1918) had begun to efface the distinction between soldier and civilian, World War II (1939–1945) completely obliterated it. From the London Blitz of 1940–41, the Allied bombing of cities in Germany and Japan, the brutal repression in occupied areas, the atomic bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, to the Holocaust, civilians were targeted by both sides; millions died. In this aspect, as in so many others in World War II, Hitler set the agenda by ordering the German air force (the Luftwaffe) to change its focus from military targets to civilian population centers during the Battle of Britain. Ironically, this change in tactics backfired; the respite enabled the British military to complete its radar installation program and build up the Royal Air Force. By 1941, Britain had air superiority and won the Battle of Britain. Moreover, cities like London had a built-in system of near-impregnable underground bomb shelters. Consequently, while considerable damage was inflicted on structures, London suffered relatively few casualties. (The British novelist Evelyn Waugh (1903–1966), in his *Officers and Gentlemen* (1955), noted that one was more likely to be mugged than killed by a bomb. Waugh was no doubt exaggerating.) If anything, the bombing of London and other cities hardened British resolve to hold out against the Germans. After the Battle of Britain, Germany was not in a position to launch air raids against Britain with conventional aircraft. In February 1944, as the Allies tightened the noose around Nazi Germany, the Germans launched a desperate air campaign against Britain, utilizing jet-powered, guided (more-or-less) missiles, the infamous V-1s. This effort was to fail as well. In this selection, Mrs. Robert Henrey, an upper-middle-class Londoner, describes the V-1 attacks.

## **Questions to Consider**

- What is the tone of Mrs. Henrey's memoir?
- How does she compare the raids of February 1944 with those of 1940–41? What does this tell us about the German war effort?
- How has London changed since the early days of the war?



The sharp raids of February 1944 broke a lull of nearly three years. The weather was bitterly cold, with occasional snow, but it was gone by morning, leaving a hard frost in the Green Park and a thin coating of ice on the sump.

Nobody was surprised to hear the sirens again, because the newspapers were filled with stories about the Allied raids on Germany. The unknown factor was the extent to which the enemy could go and the improvements he had made in his technique. This uncertainty, added to tiredness and war strain, made many people more nervous than during the battle of London [1940–1941], and when the bombs began to drop near the centre of town, one saw again the early evening trek towards the tube stations. As soon as it became dark a great hush fell over the city.

This mantle of silence was one of the strangest phenomena. One could hear it, yes, actually hear it. On several occasions when I was at home with the curtains drawn, this sudden blanketing fell upon my ears and made me aware that it was now officially night. It was

most impressive on the evening following a big raid, when people were still under the domination of fear. One felt a shudder down the spine. There was something about it which was not of this world.

These raids were not at all like those of 1940–1. They were noisier but seldom lasted more than an hour, at any rate in their intensity, whereas in the old days, or rather, in the old nights, the sirens wailed regularly at dusk and did not sound the all clear until half an hour before dawn.

London itself had also changed. It was now crowded with American soldiers, many of whom, only a few months earlier, were pursuing peaceful occupations in city or farm. In addition to this great army from across the Atlantic, there had come into London a tremendous number of people of every sort and kind who had not been through any of the previous raids. The population had therefore to be welded together and tempered before attaining that hardness and stoicism with which it faced the much more terrifying raids of May 1941.

The bombs did not really hit the heart of the town until Sunday, 20th February. Before that we had only seen fires round the perimeter. But on this occasion there was quite a large conflagration in Pall Mall, and one saw other patches of deep red seemingly quite near but more difficult to locate.

---

Source: Mrs. Robert Henrey, *London Under Fire, 1940–1945* (London: J. M. Dent, 1969), 174–175.

## 51

# *Existentialism Defined (1946)*

J E A N P A U L S A R T R E

The post–World War II era experienced that same crisis of conscience that had gripped the post–World War I generation, but perhaps not as severely. Nonetheless, in the ashes and cinders of post-war Europe, Europeans (and the rest of the world as well) sought to make sense of the seemingly unfathomable inhumanity and incredible destruction. Some held onto familiar guides, evidenced by the growth of political parties that were social Christian at heart and by the resurgence of communism. One of the most influential philosophical movements that

prospered was existentialism, whose central idea is that human beings must act to exist, but that they are free (or condemned) to act. Existentialism had appeared before World War II—indeed its roots go back at least to the mid-nineteenth century. It blossomed in the post-war Europe in no small measure because of the works of the French philosopher Jean Paul Sartre (1905–1980). In addition to his excellent plays, novels, and somewhat turgid philosophical essays, Sartre, of middle-class origins, was a ubiquitous and fearless social critic and a fellow-traveler, a connection he never severed, and thus frequently seemed to be an apologist for Stalin's excesses. He epitomized the peculiarly French phenomenon of the intellectual as a social critic above politics. He opposed American involvement in European affairs as Yankee imperialism; he was also a fierce opponent of the Vietnam War. Despite his vitriolic anti-American rhetoric, he became something of a celebrity, and American (and other) tourists to Paris often congregated near his favorite cafes in Montmartre, hoping to catch a glimpse of Sartre and his companion Simone de Beauvoir (1908–1986), the famous feminist. Sartre's popularity and influence waned in the 1960s and 1970s, but his works still find their way onto reading lists and into the hip pockets of American college students seeking an answer to the questions of why we are here as they sit at cafés on the sidewalks of Paris. In this document, Sartre outlines what existentialism means, at least to him.

### Questions to Consider

- How does Sartre define existentialism?
- For what is existentialism criticized?

[Existentialism] has been reproached as an invitation to people to dwell in quietism or despair. For if every way to a solution is barred, one would have to regard any action in this world as entirely ineffective, and one would arrive finally at a contemplative philosophy. Moreover, since contemplation is a luxury, this would be only another bourgeois philosophy. This is, especially, the reproach made by the Communists.

From another quarter we are reproached for having underlined all that is ignominious in the human situation...

From the Christian side, we are reproached as people who deny the reality and seriousness of human affairs. For since we ignore the commandments of God and all values prescribed as eternal, nothing remains but what

is strictly voluntary. Everyone can do what he likes, and will be incapable, from such a point of view, of condemning either the point of view or the action of anyone else.

It is to these various reproaches that I shall endeavor to reply...[W]e can begin by saying that existentialism, in our sense of the word, is a doctrine that does render human life possible; a doctrine, also, which affirms that every truth and every action imply both an environment and a human subjectivity...

Atheistic existentialism, of which I am a representative, declares with greater consistency that if God does not exist there is at least one being whose existence comes before its essence, a being which exists before it can be defined by any conception of it. That being is man...What do we mean by saying that existence precedes essence? We mean that man first of all exists, encounters himself, surges up in the world—and defines himself afterwards...[T]here is no human nature, because there is no God to have a conception of it...

---

Source: Jean Paul Sartre, *Existentialism*, in Walter Kaufmann, ed., *Existentialism from Dostoevsky to Sartre* (New York: Meridian, 1974), 345–368 passim.



# The Second Sex: *Existential Feminism* (1949)

S I M O N E   D E   B E A U V O I R

In 1949 Simone de Beauvoir published *La Deuxième Sexe* (The Second Sex), which was published in the United States in 1952. France had traditionally been the most male-dominated society in Western Europe; some would contend that it still is. French women did not get the vote until 1944, long after most other Western states; French law consistently favored men; and French culture and society underscored the political and legal weaknesses of women. This began to change in the post-war period, as French women, like those of other European states and the United States, were forced to move into the waged work force. Thus Beauvoir was writing within a milieu that was becoming slightly more open to women's equality. Most agree that this book launched modern feminism. Beauvoir grounded her arguments in science, history, sociology, and law, overlaid with her existentialist belief that women could define themselves and in so doing could free themselves from patriarchal domination. Beauvoir no doubt benefited from her long association with the French existential philosopher Jean Paul Sartre (1905–1980)—indeed they became something of a tourist attraction as people hung around the Montmartre cafés that the famous couple frequented. Beauvoir and Sartre were prominent as social critics in France and had a high visibility quotient. Despite the fact that Sartre was the most influential of the existentialists, many argue that Beauvoir's work has had a much greater impact.

## Questions to Consider

- What according to Beauvoir are the problems faced by women?
- What is it that Beauvoir advocates to allow women to achieve fulfillment?

According to French law, obedience is no longer included among the duties of a wife, and each woman citizen has the right to vote; but these civil liberties remain theoretical as long as they are unaccompanied by economic freedom. A woman supported by a man—wife or courtesan—is not emanci-

pated from the male because she has a ballot in her hand; if custom imposes less constraint upon her than formerly, the negative freedom implied has not profoundly modified her situation; she remains bound in her condition of vassalage. It is through gainful employment that woman has traversed most of the distance that separated her from the male; and nothing else can guarantee her liberty in practice. Once she ceases to be a parasite, the system based on her dependence crumbles; between her and the universe there is no longer any need for a masculine mediator.

Source: Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, H. M. Parshley, ed. and trans. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), 679, 681, 696–697, 715.

The curse that is upon woman as vassal consists, as we have seen, in the fact that she is not permitted to do anything; so she persists in the vain pursuit of her true being through narcissism, love, or religion....

It is quite understandable, also, that the milliner's apprentice, the shopgirl, the secretary, will not care to renounce the advantages of masculine support. I have already pointed out that the existence of a privileged caste, which she can join by merely surrendering her body, is an almost irresistible temptation to the young woman; she is fated for gallantry by the fact that her wages are minimal while the standard of living expected of her by society is very high. If she is content to get along on her wages, she is only a pariah: ill lodged, ill dressed, she will be denied all amusement and even love. Virtuous people preach asceticism to her, and, indeed, her dietary regime is often as austere as that of a Carmelite [nun]. Unfortunately, not everyone can take God as a lover; she has to please men if she is to succeed in her life as a woman. She will therefore accept assistance, and this is what her employer cynically counts on in giving her starvation wages. This aid will sometimes allow her to improve her situation and achieve a real independence; in other cases, however, she will give up her work and become a kept woman. She often retains both sources of income and each serves more or less as an escape from the other; but she is really in double servitude: to job and to protector. For the married woman her wages represent only pin money as a rule; for the girl who "makes something on the side" it is the masculine contribution that seems extra; but neither of them gains complete independence through her own efforts.

There are, however, a fairly large number of privileged women who find in their professions a means of economic and social autonomy. These come to mind when one considers woman's possibilities and her future. This is the reason why it is especially interesting to make a close study of their situation, even though they constitute as yet only a minority; they continue to be a subject of debate between feminists and antifeminists. The latter assert that the emancipated women of today succeed in doing nothing of importance in the world and that furthermore they have difficulty in achieving their own inner equilibrium. The former exaggerate the results obtained by professional women and are blind to their inner confusion....

There is one feminine function that is actually almost impossible to perform in complete liberty. It is mater-

nity. In England and America and some other countries a woman can at least decline maternity at will, thanks to contraceptive techniques. We have seen that in France she is often driven to painful and costly abortion or she frequently finds herself responsible for an unwanted child that can ruin her professional life. If this is a heavy charge, it is because inversely, custom does not allow a woman to procreate when she pleases. The unwed mother is a scandal to the community, and [an] illegitimate birth is a stain on the child; only rarely is it possible to become a mother without accepting the chains of marriage or losing caste. If the idea of artificial insemination interests many women, it is not because they wish to avoid intercourse with a male, it is because they hope that freedom of maternity is going to be accepted by society at last. It must be said in addition that in spite of convenient day nurseries and kindergartens, having a child is enough to paralyze a woman's activity entirely; she can go on working only if she abandons it to relatives, friends, or servants. She is forced to choose between sterility, which is often felt as a painful frustration, and burdens hardly compatible with a career.

Thus the independent woman of today is torn between her professional interests and the problems of her sexual life; it is difficult for her to strike a balance between the two; if she does, it is at the price of concessions, sacrifices, acrobatics, which require her to be in a constant state of tension....

The free woman is just being born; when she has won possession of herself perhaps Rimbaud's prophecy will be fulfilled: "There shall be poets! When women's unmeasured bondage shall be broken, when she shall live for and through herself, man—hitherto detestable—having let her go, she, too, will be poet! Woman will find the unknown! Will her ideational worlds be different from ours? She will come upon strange, unfathomable, repellent, delightful things; we shall take them, we shall comprehend them." It is not sure that her "ideational worlds" will be different from those of men, since it will be through attaining the same situation as theirs that she will find emancipation; to say in what degree she will remain different, in what degree these differences will retain their importance—this would be to hazard bold predictions indeed. What is certain is that hitherto woman's possibilities have been suppressed and lost to humanity, and that it is high time she be permitted to take her chances in her own interest and in the interest of all.



## 53

# *An American Plan to Rebuild a Shattered Europe (1947)*

G E O R G E C . M A R S H A L L

With the devastation Europe suffered during World War II, reconstruction was a massive challenge. Cities had been heavily bombed; industrial sites had been pulverized; farmland had been both neglected and used as battlefields; roads, bridges, and railroads had been mangled—in general, the entire infrastructure of the European economic and social systems had been nearly destroyed. Moreover, with the shortages of food, clothing, shelter, and just about everything else, many Western leaders were gravely concerned about social upheaval. A quick and effective response was needed. After this war, unlike World War I, the United States played a leading role. On 5 June 1947, Secretary of State George C. Marshall (1880–1959), former Army Chief of Staff, gave the commencement address, excerpted here, at Harvard University in which he laid out the principles of the reconstruction program that would forever bear his name, the Marshall Plan. It was an ambitious plan, which featured two significant components: massive amounts of American capital to rebuild Europe, and inter-European cooperation and planning of the reconstruction efforts. All of the Western European states participated. The Soviet Union and its satellites declined, as Stalin balked at the requirements (free elections, for example) of the Plan. Some scholars and politicians in Europe (and the United States) have argued that the post-war era also saw an effort by American capitalists to seize major segments of the European economy. To an extent this was true, as U.S. corporations such as Coca-Cola opened plants throughout Europe. More positively, such multinational operations were the beginnings of the global economy of the late twentieth century. At the time, these operations provided much-needed investment capital, tax revenues, and jobs to the war-ravaged economies, despite complaints about Americanization.

## **Questions to Consider**

- How does Marshall justify this massive undertaking?
- How does it reflect Cold War strategy and rhetoric?
- On what does the successful implementation of the Plan depend, according to Marshall? Why?

I need not tell you, gentlemen, that the world situation is very serious. That must be apparent to all intelligent people. I think one difficulty is that the problem is one of such enormous complexity that the very mass of facts presented to the public by press and radio make it exceedingly difficult for the man in the street to reach a clear appraisal of the situation. Furthermore, the people of this country are distant from the troubled areas of the earth and it is hard for them to comprehend the plight and consequent reactions of the long-suffering peoples, and the effect of those reactions on their governments in connection with our efforts to promote peace in the world.

In considering the requirements for the rehabilitation of Europe the physical loss of life, the visible destruction of cities, factories, mines and railroads was correctly estimated, but it has become obvious during recent months that this visible destruction was probably less serious than the dislocation of the entire fabric of European economy. For the past ten years conditions have been highly abnormal.

The feverish preparation for war and the more feverish maintenance of the war effort engulfed all aspects of national economies. Machinery has fallen into disrepair or is entirely obsolete. Under the arbitrary and destructive Nazi rule, virtually every possible enterprise was geared into the German war machine. Long-standing commercial ties, private institutions, banks, insurance companies and shipping companies disappeared, through loss of capital, absorption through nationalization or by simple destruction.

In many countries, confidence in the local currency has been severely shaken. The breakdown of the business structure of Europe during the war was complete. Recovery has been seriously retarded by the fact that two years after the close of hostilities a peace settlement with Germany and Austria has not been agreed upon. But even given a more prompt solution of these difficult problems, the rehabilitation of the economic structure of Europe quite evidently will require a much longer time and greater effort than had been foreseen.

There is a phase of this matter which is both interesting and serious. The farmer has always produced the foodstuffs to exchange with the city dweller for the other necessities of life. This division of labor is the basis of modern civilization. At the present time it is threatened with breakdown. The town and city industries are not producing adequate goods to exchange with the food-producing farmer. Raw materials and

fuel are in short supply. Machinery is lacking or worn out.

The farmer or the peasant cannot find the goods for sale which he desires to purchase. So the sale of his farm produce for money which he cannot use seems to him an unprofitable transaction. He, therefore, has withdrawn many fields from crop cultivation and is using them for grazing. He feeds more grain to stock and finds for himself and his family an ample supply of food, however short he may be on clothing and the other ordinary gadgets of civilization. Meanwhile, people in the cities are short of food and fuel. So the governments are forced to use their foreign money and credits to procure these necessities abroad. This process exhausts funds which are urgently needed for reconstruction. Thus a very serious situation is rapidly developing which bodes no good for the world. The modern system of the division of labor upon which the exchange of products is based is in danger of breaking down.

The truth of the matter is that Europe's requirements for the next three or four years of foreign food and other essential products—principally from America—are so much greater than her present ability to pay that she must have substantial additional help, or face economic, social and political deterioration of a very grave character.

The remedy lies in breaking the vicious circle and restoring the confidence of the European people in the economic future of their own countries and of Europe as a whole. The manufacturer and the farmer throughout wide areas must be able and willing to exchange their products for currencies, the continuing value of which is not open to question.

Aside from the demoralizing effect on the world at large and the possibilities of disturbances arising as a result of the desperation of the people concerned, the consequences to the economy of the United States should be apparent to all. It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace.

Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist. Such assistance, I am convinced, must not be on a piecemeal basis as various crises develop. Any assistance that this Government may render in the future should provide a cure rather than a mere palliative.

Any government that is willing to assist in the task of recovery will find full cooperation, I am sure, on the

---

Source: "The Address of Secretary Marshall at Harvard," *The New York Times*, Friday, June 6, 1947.



part of the United States Government. Any government which maneuvers to block the recovery of other countries cannot expect help from us. Furthermore, governments, political parties or groups which seek to perpetuate human misery in order to profit therefrom politically or otherwise will encounter the opposition of the United States.

It is already evident that, before the United States Government can proceed much further in its efforts to alleviate the situation and help start the European world on its way to recovery, there must be some agreement among the countries of Europe as to the requirements of the situation and the part those countries themselves will take in order to give proper effect to whatever action might be undertaken by this Government. It would be neither fitting nor efficacious for this Government to undertake to draw up unilaterally a

program designed to place Europe on its feet economically. This is the business of the Europeans. The initiative, I think, must come from Europe. The role of this country should consist of friendly aid in the drafting of a European program and of later support of such a program so far as it may be practical for us to do so. The program should be a joint one, agreed to by a number of, if not all, European nations.

An essential part of any successful action on the part of the United States is an understanding on the part of the people of America of the character of the problem and the remedies to be applied. Political passion and prejudice should have no part. With foresight, and a willingness on the part of our people to face up to the vast responsibility which history has clearly placed upon our country, the difficulties I have outlined can and will be overcome.

## 54

# *Third World Advocate Decries Colonized Peoples' Loss of Identity (1952)*

F R A N T Z F A N O N

In this excerpt from his *Black Skin, White Mask* (1952), the Third World writer and anti-imperialist Frantz Fanon (1925–1961) addresses one of the most pernicious consequences of European imperialism: the effacement of ethnic identity. Fanon was born on Martinique, a French possession, and, after completing his education in Paris, became a well-known psychoanalyst. As a Francophone, Fanon recognized in himself the cultural imperialism he and his fellow colonized people had suffered. In his writings, Fanon called for colonial peoples to reject the capitalistic, imperialistic, racist West; to do so, however, they had to learn who they really were. Fanon's literary career corresponded with the post-war emergence of national liberation movements all over Asia, Africa, and elsewhere. While the colonial powers generally acceded to demands for independence, sooner or later, they retained old structures, or created new ones, to maintain a great deal of influence in the former colonies. It was just such neo-colonialism that Third World leaders and intellectuals such as Fanon feared.

### Questions to Consider

- According to Fanon, how does the young African perceive of himself or herself?
- How could colonial peoples reclaim their cultural identity?

I propose nothing short of the liberation of the man of color from himself....

The black schoolboy in the Antilles, who in his lessons is forever talking about “our ancestors, the [French],” identifies himself with the explorer, the bringer of civilization, the white man who carries truth to savages—an all-white truth. There is identification—

---

Source: Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove, 1967), 8, 147–148.

that is, the young Negro subjectively adopts a white man’s attitude....

Little by little, one can observe in the young Antillean the formation and crystallization of an attitude and a way of thinking and seeing that are essentially white. When in school he has to read stories of savages told by white men, he always thinks of the [African].... The Negro lives in Africa. Subjectively, intellectually, the Antillean conducts himself like a white man. But he is a Negro. That he will learn once he goes to Europe; and when he hears Negroes mentioned he will recognize that the word includes himself.

## 55

# *The “Secret Speech” Launches De-Stalinization (1956)*

N I K I T A   K H R U S H C H E V

---

After World War II, known as the Great Patriotic War in the Soviet Union, Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) led his country back into the closed, oppressive state that it had been before the war. During the war, the Soviet leadership, forced by military exigencies, had relented in some of its socialist policies, turning a blind eye toward a very modest liberalization in social and cultural affairs. It was hoped that the victory in the war, which had demanded extreme sacrifices from the peoples of the Soviet Union, would result in a more open society and a more consumer-oriented economy. Such hopes were dashed at the war’s end when Stalin promptly promised, and delivered, a return to the rigid demands of the five-year plans for industrial growth and to strict ideological adherence to the principles of Leninism-Stalinism. In addition to the reimposition of totalitarianism in the Soviet Union, Stalin also imposed his harsh rule on the Eastern European satellite states, forcing the puppet regimes there to impose rapid industrialization based on the Soviet model and to use repressive police measures. Such measures created opponents in both the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. After Stalin’s death



in 1953, Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) emerged as the new leader of the Soviet Union. The son of peasants who rose through the Party ranks, he attempted, with varying degrees of success, a wide array of changes in the Soviet Union, including agrarian reform, a roaring failure, and de-Stalinization, a limited success. As part of his efforts at de-Stalinization, Khrushchev allowed a liberalization to take place in the creative arts in the Soviet Union, exemplified by the publication of *A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* (1962) by Alexander Solzhenitsyn (b. 1918), a scathing denunciation of Stalin's gulag system. The de-Stalinization effort was initiated by the “Secret Speech,” excerpted here, that Khrushchev delivered to the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956, which enumerated and decried the crimes of the Stalinist regime. Once the contents of the speech became known, its impact on the international communist movement was as powerfully negative as anything since the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of 1939—indeed, probably more so. Communist parties in Western Europe and their fellow-traveler allies were profoundly disoriented by the revelations. In Eastern Europe, Hungary and Poland, deeply disenchanted by the revelations, took the “Secret Speech” and Khrushchev's efforts to repair the breach between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia as a sign that the Soviets were prepared to allow their satellite states more independence. They were mistaken.

### Questions to Consider

- What does Khrushchev mean by the “cult of personality”?
- What were Stalin's crimes, according to Khrushchev?
- How do you think the Communist Party leadership in the Soviet Union reacted to Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin?
- Why do you think Khrushchev gave the Secret Speech?

**A**t the present we are concerned with a question which has immense importance for the party now and for the future—[we are concerned] with how the cult of the person of Stalin has been gradually growing, the cult which became at a certain specific stage the source of a whole series of exceedingly serious and grave perversions of party principles, of party democracy, of revolutionary legality...

When we analyze the practice of Stalin in regard to the direction of the party and of the country, when we pause to consider everything which Stalin perpetrated, we must be convinced that Lenin's fears were justified. The negative characteristics of Stalin, which, in Lenin's time, were only incipient, transformed themselves during the last years into a grave abuse of power by Stalin, which caused untold harm to our Party...

Stalin acted not through persuasion, explanation, and patient co-operation with people, but by imposing his concepts and demanding absolute submission to

his opinion. Whoever opposed this concept or tried to prove his viewpoint, and the correctness of his position, was doomed to removal from the leading collective and to subsequent moral and physical annihilation. This was especially true during the period following the XVIIth Party Congress [1934], when many prominent party leaders and rank-and-file party workers, honest and dedicated to the cause of Communism, fell victim to Stalin's despotism.

We must affirm that the party had fought a serious fight against the Trotskyites, rightists and bourgeois nationalists, and that it disarmed ideologically all the enemies of Leninism. This ideological fight was carried on successfully, as a result of which the Party became strengthened and tempered. Here Stalin played a positive role...

It was precisely during this period (1935–1937–1938) that the practice of mass repression through the government apparatus was born, first against the enemies of Leninism—Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites, long since politically defeated by the party—and subsequently also against many honest Communists, against those party cadres who had borne the heavy load of the Civil War and the first and most difficult years of industrialization and collectivization, who actively

---

Source: Nikita Khrushchev, “De-Stalinization,” in Robert V. Daniels, ed., *A Documentary History of Communism* (New York: Vintage Press, 1962), 2:224–231.

fought against the Trotskyites and the rightists for the Leninist Party line....

This led to glaring violations of revolutionary legality, and to the fact that many entirely innocent persons, who in the past had defended the party line, became victims.

We must assert that in regard to those persons who in their time had opposed the party line, there were often no sufficiently serious reasons for their physical annihilation. The formula, "enemy of the people," was specifically introduced for the purpose of physically annihilating such individuals....

...Many party, soviet and economic activists who were branded in 1937–1938 as "enemies" were actually never enemies, spies, wreckers, etc., but were always honest Communists; they were only so stigmatized, and often, no longer able to bear barbaric tortures, they charged themselves (at the order of the investigative judges—falsifiers) with all kinds of grave and unlikely crimes. The commission [for investigation of the purge] has presented to the Central Committee Presidium lengthy and documented materials pertaining to mass repressions against the delegates to the XVIIth Party Congress and against members of the Central Committee elected at that Congress. These materials have been studied by the Presidium of the Central Committee.

It was determined that of the 139 members and candidates of the Party's Central Committee who were elected at the XVIIth Congress, 98 persons, i.e., 70 percent, were arrested and shot (mostly in 1937–1938). (*Indignation in the hall*)...

Facts prove that many abuses were made on Stalin's orders without reckoning with any norms of party and Soviet legality. Stalin was a very distrustful man, sickly suspicious; we knew this from our work with him. He could look at a man and say: "Why are your eyes so shifty today?" or "Why are you turning so much today and avoiding to look me directly in the eyes?" The sickly suspicion created in him a general distrust even toward eminent party workers whom he had known for years. Everywhere and in everything he saw "enemies," "two-facers" and "spies."

Possessing unlimited power he indulged in great willfulness and choked a person morally and physically. A situation was created where one could not express one's own will.

When Stalin said that one or another should be arrested, it was necessary to accept on faith that he was an "enemy of the people." Meanwhile, Beria's gang, which ran the organs of state security, outdid itself in proving the guilt of the arrested and the truth of materials which it falsified. And what proofs were offered? The confessions of the arrested, and the investigative judges accepted these "confessions." And how is it possible that a person confesses to crimes which he has not commit-

ted? Only in one way—because of application of physical methods of pressuring him, tortures, bringing him to a state of unconsciousness, deprivation of his judgment, taking away of his human dignity. In this manner were "confessions" acquired....

I recall the first days when the conflict between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia began artificially to be blown up. Once, when I came from Kiev to Moscow, I was invited to visit Stalin who, pointing to the copy of a letter lately sent to Tito, asked me, "Have you read this?" Not waiting for my reply he answered, "I will shake my little finger—and there will be no more Tito. He will fall."...

But this did not happen to Tito. No matter how much or how little Stalin shook, not only his little finger but everything else that he could shake, Tito did not fall. Why? The reason was that, in this case of disagreement with the Yugoslav comrades, Tito had behind him a state and a people who had gone through a severe school of fighting for liberty and independence, a people which gave support to its leaders.

You see to what Stalin's mania for greatness led. He had completely lost consciousness of reality; he demonstrated his suspicion and haughtiness not only in relation to individuals in the USSR, but in relation to whole parties and nations....

Some comrades may ask us: Where were the members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee? Why did they not assert themselves against the cult of the individual in time? And why is this being done only now?

First of all we have to consider the fact that the members of the Political Bureau viewed these matters in a different way at different times. Initially, many of them backed Stalin actively because Stalin was one of the strongest Marxists and his logic, his strength and his will greatly influenced the cadres and party work....

Later, however, Stalin, abusing his power more and more, began to fight eminent party and government leaders and to use terroristic methods against honest Soviet people....

In the situation which then prevailed I have talked often with Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin; once when we two were traveling in a car, he said, "It has happened sometimes that a man goes to Stalin on his invitation as a friend. And when he sits with Stalin, he does not know where he will be sent next, home or to jail."

It is clear that such conditions put every member of the Political Bureau in a very difficult situation. And when we also consider the fact that in the last years the Central Committee plenary sessions were not convened and that the sessions of the Political Bureau occurred only occasionally, from time to time, then we will understand how difficult it was for any member of the Political Bureau to take a stand against one or another



injust or improper procedure, against serious errors and shortcomings in the practices of leadership....

Comrades: We must abolish the cult of the individual decisively, once and for all; we must draw the proper conclusions concerning both ideological-theoretical and practical work.

It is necessary for this purpose:...to return to and actually practice in all our ideological work the most important theses of Marxist-Leninist science about the people as the creator of history and as the creator of all material and spiritual good of humanity, about the de-

cisive role of the Marxist Party in the revolutionary fight for the transformation of society, about the victory of Communism....

We are absolutely certain that our party, armed with the historical resolutions of the XXth Congress, will lead the Soviet people along the Leninist path to new successes, to new victories. (*Tumultuous, prolonged applause*)

Long live the victorious banner of our party—Leninism! (*Tumultuous, prolonged applause ending in ovation. All rise.*)

## 56

# *A British Journalist Witnesses the Hungarian Revolution (1956)*

A N T H O N Y R H O D E S

After World War II, known as the Great Patriotic War in the Soviet Union, Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) led his country back into the closed, oppressive state that it had been before the war. It was hoped that the victory in the war, which had demanded extreme sacrifices from the peoples of the Soviet Union, would result in a more open society and a more consumer-oriented economy. Such hopes were dashed at the war's end when Stalin promptly promised, and delivered, a return to the rigid demands of the five-year plans for industrial growth and to strict ideological adherence to the principles of Leninism-Stalinism. In addition to the reimposition of totalitarianism in the Soviet Union, Stalin also imposed his harsh rule on the Eastern European satellite states, forcing the puppet regimes there to impose rapid industrialization based on the Soviet model and to use repressive police measures. Such measures created opponents in both the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, as in Yugoslavia where Joseph Broz Tito (1892–1980) broke with Stalin. After Stalin's death in 1953, Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) emerged as the new leader of the Soviet Union. The son of peasants who had risen through the Party ranks, he attempted, with varying degrees of success, a wide array of changes in the Soviet Union, including agrarian reform, a roaring failure, and de-Stalinization, a limited success. The de-Stalinization effort was initiated by the "Secret Speech" that Khrushchev delivered to the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956, which enumerated and decried the crimes of the Stalinist regime. Once the contents of the speech became known, its impact on the international communist movement was as powerfully negative as anything since the

Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of 1939—indeed, probably more so. Communist parties in Western Europe and their fellow-traveler allies were profoundly disoriented by the revelations. In Eastern Europe, Hungary and Poland, deeply disenchanted by the revelations, took the “Secret Speech” and Khrushchev’s efforts to repair the breach between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia as a sign that the Soviets were prepared to allow their satellite states more independence. In Poland, reforming efforts were controlled and never challenged either Communist Party rule or Soviet power. In Hungary, a wide-open anti-communist rebellion broke out that was crushed by the Soviet Red Army. Khrushchev was not as willing to allow satellite states their independence as they had mistakenly believed. In this selection, a British journalist reports on the events in Budapest in October 1956.

### Questions to Consider

- How did the Hungarian people conduct themselves prior to the arrival of the Soviet tanks?
- Why did the Soviets block the border with Austria?

In the Stalin square the next morning [late October, 1956], the people of Budapest had not only pulled down the dictator’s statue, they were feverishly chopping it up into little bits, so that not a trace should remain. Outside the Communist Party headquarters was a mountain of cinders, consisting of burnt communist books and pamphlets. A ceaseless hail of these came hurtling out of the windows, together with paintings and photographs of Stalin, Lenin and Rákosi [the Hungarian Communist leader], to keep the fires alight. Even gramophone records of the leaders’ speeches added to the blaze.

When these busy people realized who we were, they clustered around, beseeching us to let our countrymen know the truth, suggesting that we should take photographs of a big oil painting of Stalin which had just been hideously defaced. They slapped us on the back and shook our hands a dozen times, until we felt that we, not they, had liberated their city. An old woman in tears kissed my hand as if I were a Monsignore; and one of the Austrians suddenly found himself clasping two babies.

Meanwhile inside the building, a grim AVO [Allamvedelmi Osztaly, State Security Department]

hunt was in progress. A number of AVO men had just been caught in the sewers and hanged, I was told. Would I care to step inside and take some photographs of them, for the benefit of the West? But the sight of the hanged men the night before had been enough, and I refused this invitation. The AVO men had evidently imagined that their Russian masters would quickly dominate the situation, and they had been waiting underground (literally) for this to happen. But when the lull came and they appeared in public again, they found to their dismay not the Russians, but the population of Budapest, in control. Their cruelties of the past were now expiated. After execution, their bodies were left hanging for an hour or so, for all to see; then the dust-carts came and took them away, and more were displayed. The Hungarians never seemed to tire of looking at the corpses of their late masters. To see the hate combined with glee on the faces of some of these people as they gazed on them was to realize what communism had done in ten years to the Hungarian mind....

[On November 2] I was standing near the Chain bridge watching [the Soviets’] families leave, when an English journalist I had met the day before ran up to me and said, “If you want the story of your life, come to the Parliament buildings now! Nagy is about to make an important declaration about the Warsaw Pact.”

I followed him to this building where, by showing his journalist’s pass, he was able to take me upstairs, through salons and corridors full of the Biedermeyer furnishings, marble-mounted and ormolu mirrors from the last century, to the door of the cabinet room. Here,

---

Source: Anthony Rhodes, “Hungary 1956” in Tamas Aczel, ed., *Ten Years After: The Hungarian Revolution in the Perspective of History* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967), 83–85, 88–92.



he said, the government had been in session for two hours, arguing about the weighty decision they are about to take.

On the first landing we were told to wait in a reception room, in which other journalists were walking up and down with notebooks. Suddenly the big doors opposite opened and we saw, for a moment, Kádár the new first secretary of the Communist Party, seated at a table, and at his shoulder the Prime Minister, Imre Nagy. Near the wall was the President, Tildy, whose voice seemed raised in argument. On the other side of the table, out of view, sat (we did not know it at the time), the Russian ambassador [Yuri] Andropov.<sup>1</sup>

A quarter of an hour later, an official from the Hungarian Foreign Office, whom my friend evidently knew, came out of the cabinet room quickly. Taking him by the arm he said in English, "Have you a motorcar? Well, leave Budapest immediately! Don't waste time here asking for more news. When it comes, you won't be able to leave."

He said that the government had decided to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact, and had appealed for help to the United Nations. Whatever Nagy might feel personally about the wisdom of this step, he felt it was the will of the Hungarian people. Some of the cabinet, and of course the Soviet ambassador, were trying to dissuade him; "And the pro-Russian forces in the cabinet will finally win," he said. "Nagy is now going to the radio building to make the announcement. But you see what will happen afterwards."

Five minutes later we saw the Russian ambassador leave hurriedly; and a half an hour later, Nagy went to make the courageous statement about withdrawing from the Warsaw Pact, which meant that Hungary was no longer a satellite—which was responsible virtually, too, for the second Russian intervention. But in the streets that evening the Hungarians were elated. "Nagy has cleaned his slate," they said. "We can support him, he's our man now."...

[The British Legation soon ordered all British journalists and non-essential personnel to leave the country, sensing what was about to happen. Rhodes and others in his party drove westward, toward the Austrian frontier.]

A wintry gale from the south-east was now blowing, stripping off the leaves and sweeping them along in slanting squalls of snow and sleet. Not far from Győr, we ran into a heavy snow-storm and then, through the falling flakes, we saw ahead a large tank going in our

direction. "A 50-ton Stalin," said one of the British officials in our party learnedly. "What splendid tanks the Russians have left the insurgents!"

It was difficult to pass this tank because it was moving west too: I blew the horn impatiently, to get it to withdraw to the side of the road. At length we managed to squeeze past, only to find ahead of it another Stalin tank of the same size. Again I blew the horn in irritation—and again at last we managed to pass. But there was yet another tank in front of this and then, as we rounded a corner, a whole line of them running out ahead, about fifteen, trundling along, wagging their guns and antennae.

"Really! These insurgent tanks ought to get off the roads to let us pass," said the British official again. But then as we passed one of them, a face appeared at the turret and looked down—a Mongolian face. "...they are Russians!" he finished lamely.

Our car was in fact sandwiched in a long column of Russian tanks. More Mongoloid faces peered down at us as we passed, blank, expressionless, slit-eyed, beneath bell-shaped helmets. The Russians were bringing up their eastern troops. With these not particularly reassuring road companions we remained for nearly three-quarters of an hour, trying to pass. It is understandable that to men in such machines the ordinary, standard motor-horn means little or nothing.

After Győr, we saw more Russians in a maize field at the side of the road—armoured cars with tents around them, soldiers eating their midday meal out of mess-tins in the snow. Young for the most part, the term "simple soldier" applied to these men admirably. Of the thirty or so I saw, twenty at least were Mongoloid, almost Chinese, in appearance; several had taken off their helmets and were scratching their shaven heads. These were the troops who were gathering around Budapest for the assault due to take place in two days' time. Although dirty and slovenly in appearance, there was a businesslike air about their equipment and vehicles. They could clearly move, fire and communicate with one another by wireless. And what more can you ask of the modern soldier?

We later learned that we were one of the last Western convoys these Russian troops allowed through. A few hours later, their tanks fanned out along the Austrian frontier, closing it completely, in preparation for the assault. To travellers from Budapest, Red Cross personnel, or journalists wishing to "file" their cables in Vienna, they repeated the two words, "*Niet Wien!*" stubbornly, and forced them to return to Győr, Magyaróvár, or Budapest itself. In this way we came to Nickelsdorf again, and left the people, who, by liberating themselves, were soon to liberate Eastern Europe from the excesses of communism.

<sup>1</sup> In 1982–1983 Andropov would serve as General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party.

## Jean-Paul Sartre Interviews Daniel Cohn-Bendit (1968)

DANIEL COHN-BENDIT  
AND JEAN-PAUL SARTRE

Throughout the Western world, 1968 was the year of student rebellion. Young people were increasingly disenchanted with the materialism of their parents' generation (while being able to afford to become mass consumers and go to college), alienated by what they perceived to be Western capitalistic imperialism, inspired by the civil rights movement, and thoroughly disgusted by (and fearful of) the Vietnam War. Student protests at universities became increasingly political, violent, and revolutionary, culminating in the May 1968 student revolution in Paris, which nearly toppled the Fifth Republic and soon spread to other universities in Europe. While many students were motivated by the types of concerns listed above, many were motivated by more mundane concerns such as irrelevant curricula, overcrowded classrooms, aloof administration, and similar problems. When the students at one of the new universities on the outskirts of Paris, at Nanterre, revolted, they were soon joined by students at the Sorbonne and the rest of the Paris universities. Eventually the students were able to convince the French workers to join them. Only shrewd bargaining and President Charles de Gaulle's eleventh-hour rallying of the forces for order prevented the collapse of the state. This selection contains the interview conducted by the famous French existentialist Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–1980) with the student leader Daniel Cohn-Bendit, "Red Danny." Cohn-Bendit, a German, would go on to be elected a member of the European Parliament.

### Questions to Consider

- What were Cohn-Bendit's demands? How do they strike you?
- What did Cohn-Bendit mean by a "parallel education"? Does this seem feasible?
- After thirty years, do these demands and the attitude that produced them seem realistic? Revolutionary?

*J.-P.S.:* You have said that the student movement is now on the crest of a wave. But the vacation is coming, and with it a deceleration, probably a retreat. The government will take the opportunity to put through re-

forms. It will invite students to participate and many will accept, saying either 'Reformism is all we want,' or 'It is only reformism, but it is better than nothing, and we have obtained it by force.' So you will have a transformed university, but the changes may be merely superficial ones, dealing particularly with the development of material facilities, lodgings, university restaurants. These things would make no basic changes in the

---

Source: *The Student Revolt: The Activists Speak* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1968), 104–106.



system. They are demands that the authorities could satisfy without bringing the regime into question. Do you think that you could obtain any 'adjustments' that would really introduce revolutionary elements into the bourgeois university—for example, that would make the education given at the university contradictory to the basic function of the university in the present regime: the training of cadres who are well integrated into the system?

D.C.-B.: First, purely material demands may have a revolutionary content. On university restaurants we have a demand which is basic. We demand their abolition as university restaurants. They must become youth restaurants in which all young people, whether students or not, can eat for one franc forty. No one can reject this demand: if young workers are working during the day, there seems no reason why they should not dine for one franc forty in the evening. Similarly with the *Cités Universitaires* [campuses]. There are many young workers and apprentices who would rather live away from their parents but who cannot take a room because that would cost them 30,000 francs per month; let us welcome them to the *Cités*, where the rent is from 9,000 to 10,000 francs per month. And let the well-to-do students in law and *sciences-po* [political science] go elsewhere.

Basically, I don't think that any reforms the government might make would be enough to demobilize the students. There obviously will be a retreat during the vacation, but they will not 'break' the movement. Some will say, 'We have lost our chance', without any attempt to explain what has happened. Others will say, 'The situation is not yet ripe.' But many militants will realize that we must capitalize on what has just taken place, analyse it theoretically and prepare to resume our action next term. For there will be an explosion then, whatever the government's reforms. And the experience of disorderly, unintentional, authority-provoked action we have just been through will enable us to make any action launched in the autumn more effective. The vacation will enable students to come to terms with the disarray they showed during the fortnight's crisis, and to think about what they want to do and can do.

As to the possibility of making the education given at the university a 'counter-education' manufacturing not well-integrated cadres but revolutionaries, I am afraid that that seems to me a somewhat idealistic hope. Even a reformed bourgeois education will still manufacture bourgeois cadres. People will be caught in the wheels of the system. At best they will become members of a *bien-pensant* ["right-thinking"] left, but objectively they will remain cogs ensuring the functioning of society.

Our aim is to pursue successfully a 'parallel education' which will be technical and ideological. We must launch a university ourselves, on a completely new basis, even if it only lasts a few weeks. We shall call on left-wing and extreme left-wing teachers who are prepared to work with us in seminars and assist us with their knowledge—renouncing their 'professional' status—in the investigations which we shall undertake.

In all faculties we shall open seminars—not lectures courses, obviously—on the problems of the workers' movement, on the use of technology in the interests of man, on the possibilities opened up by automation. And all this not from a theoretical viewpoint (every sociological study today opens with the words 'Technology must be made to serve man's interests'), but by posing concrete problems. Obviously this education will go in the opposite direction to the education provided by the system and the experiment could not last long; the system would quickly react and the movement give way. But what matters is not working out a reform of capitalist society, but launching an experiment that completely breaks with that society, an experiment that will not last, but which allows a glimpse of a possibility: something which is revealed for a moment and then vanishes. But that is enough to prove that the something could exist.

We do not hope to make some kind of socialist university in our society, for we know that the function of the university will stay the same so long as the system is unchanged as a whole. But we believe that there can be moments of rupture in the system's cohesion and that it is possible to profit by them to open breaches in it.

# *The Helsinki Final Act: Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms Enunciated (1975)*

## HELSINKI CONFERENCE ON EUROPEAN SECURITY

The Helsinki Conference on European Security of 1975 was an ambitious undertaking, which continues to have an influence on international politics. Indeed, some argue that the Helsinki Final Act is perhaps the most influential international agreement since the establishment of the United Nations. Envisioned as a conference to recognize the existing borders and to institutionalize the peaceful co-existence then present in the world, the Conference accomplishments included recognizing those borders, assuring the Soviet bloc that the West harbored no aggressive designs against them, establishing a mechanism to resolve disputes, and encouraging ongoing arms control talks. Perhaps most significant of the accomplishments was the elevation of basic human rights to treaty status, thus placing human rights and fundamental freedoms on the international agenda. The Final Act has by now been acceded to by many countries; its impact has been significant, including its use as a lever to insist, for instance, that the Soviet Union and other repressive regimes allow more freedom for their peoples. As a basic piece of international law, the Helsinki Act has played and may continue to play a significant role in the democratization of the world.

### Questions to Consider

- What basic human rights are enunciated by the Final Act?
- How might such rights have eroded the political system in the Soviet Union?

*VII. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief*

Source: Helsinki Final Act, human rights provision, in John Fry, *The Helsinki Process: Negotiating Security and Cooperation in Europe* (Washington: National Defense University Press, 1993), 186–187.

The participating States will respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief, for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

They will promote and encourage the effective exercise of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and other rights and freedoms all of which derive from the inherent dignity of the human person and are essential for his free and full development.



Within this framework the participating States will recognize and respect the freedom of the individual to profess and practice, alone or in community with others, religion or belief acting in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience.

The participating States on whose territory national minorities exist will respect the right of persons belonging to such minorities to equality before the law, will afford them the full opportunity for the actual enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms and will, in this manner, protect their legitimate interests in this sphere.

The participating States recognize the universal significance of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for which is an essential factor for the peace, justice and well-being necessary to ensure the development of friendly relations and co-operation among themselves as among all States.

They will constantly respect these rights and freedoms in their mutual relations and will endeavour jointly and separately, including in cooperation with the United Nations, to promote universal and effective respect for them.

They confirm the right of the individual to know and act upon his rights and duties in this field.

In the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the participating States will act in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the

United Nations and with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They will also fulfill their obligations as set forth in the international declarations and agreements in this field, including, *inter alia*, the International Covenants on Human Rights, by which they may be bound.

#### *VIII. Equal rights and self-determination of peoples*

The participating States will respect the equal rights of peoples and their right to self-determination, acting at all times in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the relevant norms of international law, including those relating to territorial integrity of States.

By virtue of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, all peoples always have the right, in full freedom, to determine, when and as they wish, their internal and external political status, without external interference, and to pursue as they wish their political, economic, social and cultural development.

The participating States reaffirm the universal significance of respect for and effective exercise of equal rights and self-determination of peoples for the development of friendly relations among themselves as among all States; they also recall the importance of the elimination of any form of violation of this principle.

59

## *The Troubles in Ireland: An IRA Leader Reveals Its Ultimate Aims (1979)*

G E R R Y A D A M S

The history of Ireland seems to have often been a tale of oppression, poverty, and misery. The period since the 1960s has hardly been different. The level of violence and hatred between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland has grown to such an extent that most have often despaired of any peaceful resolution to the problems. The roots of this conflict stretch back to the early conquest of Ireland by the English and have festered ever since. Northern Ireland, still a

province of Britain, has a majority population of Protestants and a large minority population of Catholics, unlike the Irish Republic whose population is primarily Catholic. Typically, the Catholics in Northern Ireland are poorer, living in urban slums or rural poverty, while the Protestants monopolize political power. In addition to the religious issue, the political issue, as divisive, revolves around the future status of the province. Protestants are committed to maintaining the status quo, while Catholics want to unite with the Republic of Ireland, a prospect which the Protestants fear. As the battle between the two sides heated up in the 1960s, there were no innocent civilians, no target off limits, with retaliation swift and bloody. The IRA (Irish Republican Army) had been formed decades earlier and was revived in the North to carry on the struggle. In such a violent, tit-for-tat, terrorist war, peace would be difficult to obtain. In the spring of 1998, after almost a year of intense negotiations, mediated by former U.S. Senator George Mitchell, a peace plan was finally worked out that gave Catholics a measure of political power while insuring the security of the Protestants. In a plebiscite, a vast majority of both Catholics and Protestants supported the proposal, and in June 1998, a new legislative body for Northern Ireland was elected. Unfortunately, sectarian violence erupted within weeks of the election. The Orangemen of Northern Ireland, a fraternal organization of Protestants, entered their marching season (the marches are bombastic, swaggering affairs to celebrate the victory of the Protestant William III of Orange, the husband of Mary, over the deposed Catholic James II in 1690), which almost annually results in riots. The British government was determined to prevent such an occurrence in 1998 and forbade the marchers from entering a Catholic neighborhood. As a standoff ensued between the government and the marchers, violent acts multiplied, culminating in an arson attack that killed three young Catholic boys. This unfortunate event seemed to destroy the Orangemen's enthusiasm, as the act was roundly condemned. In this document, Gerry Adams, the present-day political leader of the IRA, defines the political aspirations and needs of the movement in 1979.

### Questions to Consider

- What does Adams mean by revolutionary politics?
- What are the goals of the IRA? What are its weaknesses?

The task that we, as republicans, have set ourselves, and the ills affecting our people and our country are too complex to be satisfied merely by a British withdrawal or by the establishment of a 32 county neo-colonial Free State.<sup>1</sup> We are not, and never

have been, merely a 'Brits Out' movement.... We stand opposed to all forms and all manifestations of imperialism and capitalism. We stand for an Ireland free, united, socialist and Gaelic.... Our movement needs constructive and thoughtful self-criticism. We also require links with those oppressed by economic and social pressures. Today's circumstances and our objectives dictate the need for building an agitational struggle in the 26 Counties, an economic resistance movement, linking up republicans with other sections of the working class. It needs to be done now because to date our most glaring weakness lies in our failure to develop revolutionary politics and to build an alternative to so-called constitutional politics.

---

Source: Gerry Adams, Bodenstown oration, in Kevin J. Kelley, *The Longest War: Northern Ireland and the I.R.A.* (London: Zed Books, 1982, 1988), 303.

<sup>1</sup> Historically, Ireland is divided into thirty-two counties; of these, twenty-six today constitute the Republic of Ireland and six remain part of the United Kingdom.



60

# *The Wall Came Tumbling Down: An East German Activist Describes Her Role (1989)*

C O R N E L I A M A T Z K E

The collapse of the Soviet Empire, which began in 1989 and culminated in 1991, caught most scholars and political analysts somewhat by surprise. Many had been predicting its collapse for so long that they failed to notice the rapid unraveling of the system, while others were so ideologically committed to the socialist experiment that they were just as blind to the unraveling. Such an event did not take place overnight, although the accession to power of Mikhail Gorbachev (b. 1931) and his reformist program was certainly the catalyst. There were, however, long-term trends that, in hindsight, had been visibly straining the Soviet system: urbanization; higher levels of education and aspirations among the professional classes; economic strains resulting from the Cold War arms race; and resistance to Soviet rule throughout the Soviet bloc. The imposition of Soviet-style systems in Eastern Europe in the years following World War II had not been greeted with the greatest enthusiasm. In 1948 Yugoslavia broke completely with the Soviet Union. In 1956, during the de-Stalinization period under Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971), both Poland and Hungary clamored for more independence. Hungary even rose in armed rebellion only to be crushed by Soviet armed might. In 1968, the year of the student rebellions in the West, a spirit of rebellion was also seen in the East during the so-called Prague Spring. Warsaw Pact tanks rolled into Czechoslovakia and snuffed out the modest reforms. In 1980, the Polish labor union Solidarity was formed, marking the beginning of a decade-long struggle for independence in Poland. With Gorbachev's accession to power in 1985 and his economic and political reforms in the Soviet Union, which he urged the rest of the Soviet bloc states to adopt, forces for change began to grow. In 1989, the forces crested in the Velvet Revolution, a rather bloodless revolution that ended the Soviet Union's control of Eastern Europe and toppled the Communist regimes in those states. The most vivid image of these events was the dismantling of the Berlin Wall. In this selection, an East German activist describes the slow pace of change and her own transformation.

## **Questions to Consider**

- What prompted Cornelia Matzke to become an activist?
- To what extent in this interview does she seem to focus on women's rights?

So much has happened lately that I haven't thought about me and my development for a long time....

I am a woman who has been interested in political issues as far back as I can remember. I always had a desire to have influence. Of course, one would have to reflect on the question as to what it means to "have influence," but it represented a basic motivation to become active politically; otherwise, I could have continued to live a normal life, like most others. I already wanted to have this influence as a child. I was very active in the Pioneer [Communist children's] organization, but quickly began to feel very exploited by them. I just felt treated unfairly, having to do things and being exploited for things that I did not agree with, that I did not support....

I had a pretty high position within the structure of the Pioneer organization; I was chairperson of the friendship council. And in this position you had quite a few privileges and responsibilities. I remember at one time we participated in the so-called Welt-jugendspiele [World Youth Games]. That was in 1973; Walter Ulbricht [first secretary of the Socialist Unity Party until 1971] had just died. We had to stay in one of those camps, guarded and everything, and we were not allowed to move around freely, to go places and meet young people from other countries. I perceived that as an outrageous restriction at the time. And then we were told to go to an official demonstration—not to participate, but to stand on the sidelines and to sort of "fill in." They did not tell us what this was all about, why we could not participate actively, or anything. We were just puppets being moved around according to their plans. I was so angry that I got sick and did not participate, which, of course, was considered to be a disciplinary offense for someone in my position....

During my training at the university I began to seek contact with grassroots groups here in Leipzig and with the ESG [Evangelical Student Community]. In November of 1985 I organized a presentation on the fortieth anniversary of the victory over fascism within the context of the Protestant Peace Decade that was held in Leipzig at the time. Before that, I had had only sporadic contacts with the church....

My problem had always been to find a way to express myself politically, to find a context or people with whom I could work....

Actually, I was trying to find the women's movement, except that I had not yet quite realized that at the time....

You see, the church was the only possible alternative for any kind of political activism. There was absolutely nothing else....

*Had you heard about the group "Women for Peace" that was founded in Berlin in 1983?*

Yes, I had heard about it, but I did not know much about them. It was very difficult to find out things like that. We did not have any contacts with them; the linkages were simply missing. It was very difficult to obtain certain pieces of information in the GDR; one always depended on personal contacts. Only afterward did I find out that there was a group "Women for Peace" in Leipzig as well. I don't know how they came into existence, but very few people knew about them....

It was very difficult in the GDR to realize that your problems as a woman might not have personal causes, but instead were indicative of a larger problem, of gender antagonisms permeating all of society. As you know, the official ideology claimed that emancipation and equal rights had already been achieved in the GDR—in short, they claimed that there were no gender-related problems.

What helped me a great deal was when I met a woman from Marburg who was active in the West German feminist movement. Only by talking to her did I realize how much was going on out there in terms of women's issues, how large the women's movement was, and for how long they had been organizing. Of course, discrimination against women was probably also not as clear-cut as it is in the West. I could not claim, for example, that I was discriminated against in terms of my own education or job in the GDR. It had more to do with smaller things, with things that were not as tangible. I had always perceived disadvantages or unfair treatment as my private matter, as a problem that had only to do with me, but not as something that might perhaps be tied into the larger issue of gender relations in the GDR....

*Why exactly did they arrest you?*

Well, at the end they pretty much picked up people at random in front of the Thomas Church. Of course, they were particularly looking for people who they already knew were engaged in "subversive activities" and those who somehow looked conspicuously "alternative." I did not particularly look "alternative," and I could probably have avoided arrest. But first of all I thought that it was time for me to go through this experience as well, and second of all I figured it would be important for them also to arrest people once who did not fit into

---

Source: Cornelia Matzke, interview, in Dirk Philipsen, *We Were the People: Voices From East Germany's Revolutionary Autumn of 1989* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1993), 68–75.



their preconceptions of who was and who was not opposed to the regime they were serving.

*How long did they keep you in detention?*

Until about 2:30 at night.

*How did they treat you?*

Not too badly. The guy who interrogated me was talking about “enemies of the state” and things like that, but that was normal. Surprisingly, I was also not scared at all. We knew, for example, that they were eavesdropping on us, but that did not matter to us at all; we talked to one another completely freely. There was a mood among us—the kind of mood that prevailed until October and, I think, that goes a long way in explaining the mass demonstrations of October—that it did not matter anymore. Things were so bad, it really no longer mattered. Something just *had* to happen, and people were increasingly willing to take risks in order to bring about change. That so many people took the tremendous risks they did on 9 October, even though they knew what the state apparatus could potentially do to us, and even though it was absolutely unclear as to what would happen, I think can only be explained by people having reached a tremendous degree of alienation and resignation. In retrospect, after we have found out what some of their plans were...it was really quite scary.

Anyway, I did not get treated badly, but I think that mostly had to do with the fact that there were so many of us. But after I had gotten out, I was severely depressed, and my partner Matthias and I concluded that it was time for us to become more active ourselves. We decided to play the role of the naive citizen who had seen innocent people being arrested. So we wrote three official letters inquiring about what had happened and wondering as to why the state was conducting itself in this fashion. We sent one letter to the city councilman for cultural affairs, one we sent to the editor in chief of the *FAZ* [West German daily in Frankfurt], and the third to Kurt Masur [director of the Leipzig orchestra]. We

got no answer to the first letter; the second was answered in a very unresponsive fashion, which depressed us even more. But Professor Masur wrote back, telling us that he had taken notice of this and that he was surprised how the police had apparently treated people and so on. And then he wrote that he would plan a session on 28 August in which he would invite all the people who were interested in street music.

You can imagine what a big success this was for us. A high-ranking personality [with] connections to [Erich] Honecker [the East German leader] was actually paying attention to us and responding to us. In fact, from then on he became active as a sort of mediator in critical events—before that he had not done anything....

Many things happened after this meeting in August, the wave of emigration through Hungary and such. What also seemed important to me at the time was the fact that Honecker was sick, and that the entire party leadership simply came across as desolate. They seemed no longer capable of any real decisions. All of this, of course, left the impression that this “power”—this party and state leadership that we had come to know simply as “the power”—that this power had disintegrated so much primarily because Honecker was sick. It was somehow encouraging, because if that was true, it could not be all that great a “power” after all. I at least experienced it that way, and I believe many others did as well. It just signified that such power cannot be infinite.

I well remember a meeting we had in September among opposition activists and church members, and one person said “the whole system is so well organized, so stable, that it will certainly defend itself to the last man.” Particularly older citizens, due to all their experiences, thought that this entire party apparatus could never be broken.

Many thought that inertia, or a kind of self-perpetuating dynamic would keep the apparatus in place indefinitely. How wrong everybody was.

## 61

# *A Presidential Address to the People of Czechoslovakia on New Year's Day (1991)*

V Á C L A V H A V E L

The collapse of the Soviet Empire, which began in 1989 and culminated in 1991, caught most scholars and political analysts somewhat by surprise. Many had been predicting its collapse for so long that they failed to notice the rapid unraveling of the system, while others were so ideologically committed to the socialist experiment that they were just as blind to the unraveling. Such an event did not take place overnight, although the accession to power of Mikhail Gorbachev (b. 1931) and his reformist program was certainly the catalyst. There were, however, long-term trends that, in hindsight, had been visibly straining the Soviet system: urbanization; higher levels of education and aspirations among the professional classes; economic strains resulting from the Cold War arms race; and resistance to Soviet rule throughout the Soviet bloc. The imposition of Soviet-style systems in Eastern Europe in the years following World War II had not been greeted with the greatest enthusiasm. In 1948 Yugoslavia broke completely with the Soviet Union. In 1956, during the de-Stalinization period under Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971), both Poland and Hungary clamored for more independence. Hungary even rose in armed rebellion only to be crushed by Soviet armed might. In 1968, the year of the student rebellions in the West, a spirit of rebellion was also seen in the East during the so-called Prague Spring. Warsaw Pact tanks rolled into Czechoslovakia and snuffed out the modest reforms. In 1980, the Polish labor union Solidarity was formed, marking the beginning of a decade-long struggle for independence in Poland. With Gorbachev's accession to power in 1985 and his economic and political reforms in the Soviet Union, which he urged the rest of the Soviet bloc states to adopt, forces for change began to grow. In 1989, the forces crested in the Velvet Revolution, a rather bloodless revolution that ended the Soviet Union's control of Eastern Europe and toppled the Communist regimes in those states. Since that time, the states of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union have struggled to establish new civic, democratic societies with free-market economies. Economic and social dislocation has been severe, accompanied by rising crime rates and corruption. Perhaps most troubling in the post-Soviet period has been the ethnic and nationalistic armed struggles that have erupted across the Balkans and parts of the former U.S.S.R. Nation-building is not an overnight, or simple, process. Czechoslovakia, always one of the more advanced of the Soviet bloc states, has weathered the period relatively well, although the economy remains a cause for concern. In 1991 the component parts of the state split apart to form two new states, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, in a non-violent manifestation of the



nationalism that has characterized this period. In this document, President Václav Havel (b. 1936) outlines the problems facing the newly independent Czechoslovakia.

### Questions to Consider

- What, according to Havel, are the problems that must be solved?
- How would you characterize the overall tone of this address? Why?

Dear Fellow Citizens,

There was a time when each New Year the president could deliver the same speech as he had the year before and no one would know the difference. Fortunately, that time is past. Time and history have come back into our lives. The gloomy skies of boredom and stultifying inaction have cleared, and we can only marvel at the vast range of possibilities a truly free political climate can offer, and at how it continues to astonish us, in both the good and the bad sense of the word.

Let me first talk about the unpleasant surprises the last year has brought us. In the first place, the heritage of the past few decades has proven worse than we could possibly have anticipated in the joyous atmosphere of those first few weeks of freedom. Each day brings new problems, and each day we realize how interrelated they are, how long they will take to solve, and how difficult it is to establish the proper order in which to deal with them.

We knew that the house we had inherited was not in order: the plaster was cracking and falling off, the roof looked as though it might leak, and we had doubts about other parts of it as well. After a year of careful inspection, we are shocked to discover that all the pipes are rusting, the beams are rotten, the wiring is in terrible shape, and the reconstruction we had planned for and looked forward to will take longer and cost far more than we first thought. What a year ago appeared to be a rundown house is in fact a ruin. This is not a pleasant discovery, and not surprisingly it has made us all feel disappointed and out of sorts.

Many of you are asking why we have settled so few accounts with the past, why we have failed to rehabilitate all its victims, right all the wrongs, and justly punish all the guilty ones. Many of you are asking why the "aristocracy" of the former regime, who grew rich at the society's expense, are still the aristocracy and why they have been able to find their feet so quickly in the new conditions. Many of you are surprised that the broad

transformation of our economy is still only being talked about, and that you cannot see any changes for the better in your everyday lives. People are anxious because all that planned reforms have brought so far are higher prices and the threat of a loss of social security and jobs. We are all upset by the serious increase in crime. Our hopes for a better future are increasingly mixed with a feeling of the opposite kind: fear of the future.

In this atmosphere of general impatience, anxiety, disappointment, and doubt, elements of spitefulness, suspicion, mistrust, and mutual recrimination are creeping into public life. Surprisingly, freedom has opened the door to many of our negative qualities and has revealed the depth of the moral decline infecting our souls. We have clearly defeated the monolithic, visible, and easily identifiable enemy and now—driven by our discontent and our need to find a living culprit—we are seeking the enemy in each other. Each of us feels let down, even cheated by the other.

A year ago we were all united by the joy of having liberated ourselves from the totalitarian system; today we have all become somewhat neurotic from the burden of freedom. Our society is still in a state of shock. It could have been predicted, but no one predicted that the shock would be so profound. The old system has collapsed, the new one is not yet built, and our life together is marked by a subconscious uncertainty about what kind of system we want, how to build it, and whether we have the know-how to build it in the first place. The distance, the vagueness, and the uncertainty of the new order leads many of us to seek substitute, partial solutions and to forget that our success as individuals or groups is only possible with the general success of our whole community.

The unpleasant surprise of 1990, then, is this rather uncertain, if not stultifying, atmosphere that surrounds us at the end of the year....

[Havel goes on to list some of the "good things" that also happened in 1990, including the withdrawal of Soviet forces and the restoration of political democracy and civil liberties, and creation of a framework for free-market economic reforms.]

---

Source: Václav Havel, "New Year in Prague," in *New York Review of Books*, March 7, 1991.



Dear fellow citizens,

I am saying nothing new if I tell you that a difficult time lies ahead, and that the year which begins today will be the most difficult. It is most important that we not lose hope, no matter how difficult the trials we face may be. Were we to become dispirited, these trials would no longer be a test of our mettle, but merely the occasion for suffering and want. We will meet these challenges, I believe, and pass the test with flying colors. It all depends on the degree of hope we can keep alive in our souls. We must safeguard this hope both in ourselves, and in those around us....

After so many years, we have got rid of the evil landlord, and no matter how desolate the state of our house after so many years of his rule, it now belongs to us, and what we do with it is up to us alone. Therefore I ask you all, Czechs, Slovaks, and people of other nationalities, to respect our new state, to treat it as your own, and to make a contribution to its overall success. We have already undergone the first difficult test of our ability to coexist as different nations in the same state, and the Czechs and Slovaks have passed the test.<sup>1</sup>

I wish all Slovaks success in building an autonomous and economically independent republic. I believe that it will be a republic of love and pride for all its citizens. I wish the same to all Czechs. I believe that their republic will be a republic of wisdom and tolerance for all its citizens....

<sup>1</sup> In the course of 1991, however, Slovakia seceded and formed an independent republic.

I appeal to all who, through their work, create things of value for the whole society. Once again you will be creating these things for yourselves and those close to you, not for those who rule over you or for the abstract future of a utopian ideology. I appeal to all those who quickly find their feet in the new economic system to be mindful of those who do not find immediate success, to use their skills to help them.... I ask them not to forget that the profit they create is not an end in itself, but a means to enhance the common wealth of society, and to create conditions for a genuinely dignified and full human life.

Dear fellow citizens, dear friends,

The time when New Year's addresses were the same each year has definitely come to an end. I firmly believe that the coming year will contain more pleasant surprises than unpleasant ones. I believe that I will be able to announce to you that the reconstruction of our house has been successfully begun, and that its foundations once more rest firmly in this land and its best traditions.

A year ago I finished my New Year's address by paraphrasing a well-known quotation from Comenius<sup>2</sup>: "People, your government has been returned to you!" Today, I would add: "And it is up to you to show that the return of your government into your own hands has not been in vain."

<sup>2</sup> Comenius (Jan Amos Komenský, 1592–1670) was a notable Czech educational reformer and Protestant leader, active not only in Bohemia but also in Puritan England.









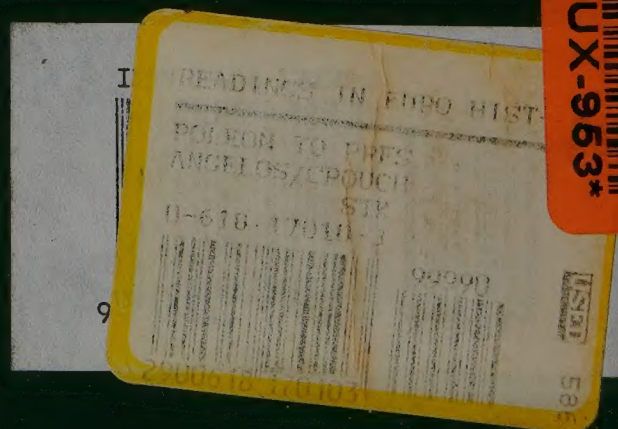
BiblioBase<sup>®</sup>, Houghton Mifflin's coursepack for history, is a customized reader created from hundred of primary source documents. It allows history instructors to tailor a book to their courses and provides the student with the quality and convenience of using a professionally published textbook. When you use BiblioBase<sup>®</sup> you get value and quality.

- This reader has been created especially for your course by your instructor.
- You pay for only those selections your instructor plans to use.
- All selections have been typeset for greater readability.
- Introductions and study questions help you get the most from each selection.
- Unfamiliar terms and concepts are explained in editorial footnotes.

Visit Houghton Mifflin's Web site at <http://www.hmco.com>



HOUGHTON MIFFLIN



\*0D-CUX-963\*